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Contents

SPRING 1993 / VOLUME 61 / NUMBER 2

IN THIS ISSUE 111

THOMAS L. KANE AND
THE UTAH WAR . . . . . RICHARD D. POLL 112

THE "ST. PETER'S OF THE NEW WORLD":
THE SALT LAKE TEMPLE, TOURISM,
AND A NEW IMAGE FOR UTAH . . . . . M. GUY BISHOP
AND RICHARD NEITZEL HOLZAPFEL 136

IN AND OUT OF MORMONDOM:
CHARLES W. HEMENWAY,
JOURNALIST . . . . . SHERILYN COX BENNION 150

C. C. GOODWIN AND THE TAMING
OF THE *TRIBUNE* . . . . . JAMES W. HULSE 164

SMITH WELLS, STAGECOACH INN
ON THE NINE MILE ROAD . . . . . H. BERT JENSON 182

BOOK REVIEWS 198

BOOK NOTICES 204

THE COVER *Both the front and back cover photographs were taken at the International Peace Gardens in Salt Lake City and are from the collection of Ruey Hazlet Wiesley in the USHS Library. On the front are the daughters of Alice F. and Henry Y. Kasai, left to right, Emi, Kimi, and Una, photographed on July 11, 1950; on the back is a patriotic display at the gardens in 1955.*

Books reviewed

WILL BAGLEY. *Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn's Narrative*.....TODD I. BERENS 198

DONALD R. MOORMAN with GENE A. SESSIONS. *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War*.....ROBERT WOOSTER 199

DAVID MICHAEL DELO. *Peddlers and Post Traders: The Army Sutler on the Frontier*.....MICHELE BUTTS 200

PAUL ANDREW HUTTON. *The Custer Reader*.....DAVID DIXON 201

GENE A. SESSIONS. *Prophesying upon the Bones: J. Reuben Clark and the Foreign Debt Crisis, 1933–39*.....JAMES L. CLAYTON 203

Remains of cellar walls at Smith Wells. Historic Preservation Office photograph, 1981.

In this issue

The people, places, and events presented in this issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly*, when removed from their nineteenth-century context, seem as familiar as those featured in today's media. In the first article an army is marching toward a persecuted religious minority. Thousands of lives are at risk. Enter Thomas L. Kane, a skilled negotiator who works with both camps to avoid armed conflict.

In the following piece curiosity about the Mormons, promotion of the Salt Lake Temple by the Union Pacific, and the opening of the temple to non-Mormon visitors before its dedication combine to achieve a public relations coup today's image makers might envy. As one newspaper observed, the new temple "was worth a trip across the continent" to see. On its one hundredth anniversary it remains a prime Utah tourist attraction.

Next, separate articles examine the lives of two Utah journalists—Charles W. Hemenway and C. C. Goodwin—both of whom became embroiled in the Mormon-gentile conflict. The former led a romantic life marked by high adventure and controversy, young love and early death. Equally colorful and controversial, the latter steered the *Salt Lake Tribune* along an anti-Mormon course until the Woodruff Manifesto of 1890 pushed his thoughts toward accommodation and high political office. Though unique, each man easily fits the familiar mold of the journalist as a personality, a newsmaker in his own right.

The final article relates the story of Smith Wells, the major stagecoach and freighting stop on the Price-Myton road. There, in turn, the Smith, Odekirk, and Hamilton families created an oasis for thousands of teamsters and travelers in a forbidding landscape. These families enjoyed a dynamic, interactive relationship with those they served, the stuff of yarns still told in the Uinta Basin. The late twentieth-century equivalent of Smith Wells, the roadside strip mall, seems unlikely to engender tales passed down by several generations; nevertheless, in time it too will become fodder for historians.

Thomas L. Kane. USHS collections.

Thomas L. Kane and the Utah War

BY RICHARD D. POLL

THE UTAH WAR OF 1857–58 OCCURRED BECAUSE President James Buchanan decided to send an army to bolster the authority of Alfred Cumming, the new governor he was sending to Utah Territory, and Brigham Young, the incumbent chief executive, decided to resist that

Dr. Poll is emeritus professor of history, Western Illinois University. This article abridges and revises his *Quixotic Mediator: Thomas L. Kane and the Utah War* (Ogden: Weber State College, 1985), which was presented as the Dello G. Dayton Memorial Lecture at WSC on April 25, 1984. The author wishes to thank Weber State University for permission to quote extensively from the published address.

"invasion" with the resources of those territorial residents who thought of him less as a secular official than as God's prophet. That this confrontation did not lead to bloodshed is attributable in large measure to the timely intervention of a diminutive and eccentric Pennsylvania idealist, Col. Thomas L. Kane. That mediation eventually placed Kane's statue in the Utah State Capitol and won him the accolade "Friend of the Mormons."[1]

Much has been written about the Utah War, although the definitive treatment remains to be written.[2] Buchanan's decision to replace Brigham Young was prompted by reports of despotism and lawlessness in Utah Territory and Republican calls for action.[3] To ensure an orderly transfer of power, Buchanan ordered 2,500 infantry, cavalry, and field artillery troops to accompany the new federal officials. Having already granted a request for such military support from Robert Walker, his governor-designate for strife-torn Kansas Territory, Buchanan may have seen this as simply a prudent course. It may, in fact, have influenced Alfred Cumming to accept the Utah governorship after other men had declined.[4]

The Mormon reaction to the unannounced "invasion" was to impede its progress with hit-and-run and scorched-earth tactics while

[1] The definitive biography of Thomas L. Kane remains to be written, but the literature on him is extensive. Particularly helpful in this study: Albert L. Zobell, *Sentinel in the East: A Biography of Thomas L. Kane* (Salt Lake City: Nicholas G. Morgan, 1965); Oscar O. Winther, ed., *The Private Papers and Diary of Thomas Leiper Kane: A Friend of the Mormons* (San Francisco: Gelber-Lilienthal, 1937); Elizabeth Wood Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona*, ed. Everett L. Cooley (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah, 1974); Wendell J. Ashton, *Theirs Is the Kingdom* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1970), pp. 167–205; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *Saints without Halos: The Human Side of Mormon History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1981), pp. 31–38; Arrington, "'In Honorable Remembrance': Thomas L. Kane's Services to the Mormons," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 389–402. The Arrington article contains a helpful bibliographical note. Considerable material relating to Kane is in the LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, and the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo (hereinafter cited as Kane Papers, BYU). Valuable smaller collections are in the Stanford University Library (hereinafter cited as Kane Papers, Stanford), Yale University (Kane Papers, Yale) and the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia (Kane Papers, APS).

[2] The most useful treatment of the Utah War is still Norman F. Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict: 1850–1859* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960). This published dissertation relies primarily on government and press sources and shows little sympathy for the Mormon side. The reprint edition (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977) is cited in this article. Kenneth M. Stampp, *America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 196–208, summarizes the conflict in a detailed treatment of national political affairs.

[3] Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, pp. 62–94; Richard D. Poll, "The Mormon Question, 1850–1865: A Study in Politics and Public Opinion" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1948), pp. 63–89.

[4] This was Kenneth Stampp's suggestion in a conversation with the author, October 23, 1990. Cumming, a Georgian then serving as superintendent of Indian affairs on the Upper Missouri, was surely conversant with the Kansas troubles. In a very thorough investigation of the early months of the Buchanan administration, Stampp found no evidence linking the decision to send an army with a particular cabinet member or discussion and nothing to support the conspiracy theories about sectional (proslavery) motives that appeared during the Civil War years.

seeking secular and divine intervention. This, plus a delay in dispatching Col. Albert Sidney Johnston to head the Utah Expedition, resulted in a temporary stalemate, with the army and the new territorial officials wintering uncomfortably at Camp Scott and Eckelsville near the burned ruins of Fort Bridger. It produced a stalemate in the East, too, as early advocates of "doing something" about Utah now wondered who was responsible for the embarrassing military predicament. Congress, bitterly divided over Buchanan's Kansas policy, debated whether to raise the funds and additional troops requested for the Utah campaign, and the president began to weigh other options.

Having earlier received Young's request for help, Kane now offered his services to Buchanan and was authorized to see what he could work out unofficially. Reaching Utah late in February 1858 he soon induced the Mormon leaders to accept Cumming as governor. Then he persuaded Cumming to go to the territorial capital without troops, and finally he convinced Young and company to accept the U.S. forces. When Buchanan dispatched official peace commissioners early in April the Utah War was practically over, though slow communications prolonged the denouement. Late in June, Johnston's Army moved through Great Salt Lake City to build Camp Floyd west of Utah Lake, and the populace of northern Utah returned to the homes they had left and prepared for burning in case the soldiers came in fighting.

For want of a telegraph and adequate political acumen, a year and a lot of money, materiel, effort, oratory, and nervous energy were spent by both sides in the Utah War. As for the outcome, it was well phrased in a statement later attributed to the new Utah chief executive: "Alfred Cumming is Governor of the Territory, but Brigham Young is Governor *of the people.*"[5]

Thomas Leiper Kane was thirty-five years old when he undertook his diplomatic mission to Utah. His special relationship with the Latter-day Saints was already eleven years old, having begun in Philadelphia in May 1846 and matured in Mormon refugee camps on the banks of the Missouri a few months later. It was destined to endure until his death in 1883, six years after the passing of his good friend Brigham Young.

[5] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), p. 445 fn.

Tom Kane was inclined toward philanthropy and political activism before he met the Mormons. Influential and affluent parents permitted him to pursue his bent, although they did not always approve his causes. U.S. District Judge John Kintzing Kane was one of Pennsylvania's leading Jacksonian Democrats. He employed Tom in a clerkship that had some aspects of a sinecure and secured his appointment as aide de camp to the governor with the honorary title of colonel. Jane Duval Leiper was the beautiful and educated daughter of a family rich in Philadelphia land. Tom, his four brothers, and a sister grew up in a Victorian middle class environment. The oldest son, Elisha Kent Kane, overcame poor health to become a naval medical officer and an Arctic explorer of some note.[6]

Elisha's experiences stirred aspirations toward adventure and glory in the second son, Tom, who described himself at 23 as "an individual of considerable nervous power, good muscular fibre, quite loud mouthed for a modest youth. . . ." At 5'6" and 130 pounds, however, he was too frail for a career based on physical prowess; illness disqualified him for Mexican War service and frequently laid him low throughout his life. He was handsome and a little vain. Other traits included romantic idealism and a dramatic flair. A mercurial temperament and hypersensitivity about what he perceived as matters of honor complicated his pursuit of many worthwhile objectives, including peace in Utah.[7]

Before he was twenty-one Tom Kane twice visited Europe, absorbing egalitarian ideas that helped make him an ardent abolitionist as well as a friend of oppressed and unfortunate people. He was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar but never practiced law seriously. An early leader in the Free Soil party, he resigned the post of U.S. commissioner when the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act made it his duty to help capture runaways. Within the next few years he founded orphan asylums, help manage a refuge for troubled girls, performed his clerk's duties,

[6] John H. Frederick, "Thomas Leiper Kane," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928–36), 10:258–59; Daniel J. Desmond, letter of introduction for Thomas L. Kane, June 11, 1846, Evans Collection, LDS Church Archives, box 1, fd. 10; miscellaneous genealogical and biographical manuscripts collected by E. Kent Kane, Kane Papers, BYU, box 17, fd. 6.

[7] Untitled mss., [1846], Kane Papers, Stanford, box 1, fd. 33; Arrington, "'In Honorable Remembrance,'" p. 390. When his young wife arranged his papers while he was away in Utah, she found notes for an unfinished railroad project and wrote in her diary for January 26, 1858: ". . . to have all this more than wasted—for it will pass down as 'one of Tom's half-finished schemes. . . .' I know that Tom has plenty of perseverance and I know how many things he has done, but who will remember these if the reputation of this sort of saying sticks to him." Elizabeth W. Kane, "Diary from June 1857 to July 1858—Only for Tom's eye," Kane Papers, BYU, box 4, fd. 4 (hereinafter cited as E. W. Kane Diary).

surveyed lands and railroad routes in western Pennsylvania, and lectured in behalf of slaves and Mormons.[8]

He also married and became a father. Elizabeth Dennistoun Wood, a second cousin, was not quite seventeen when she and Tom were wed in 1853. It was a love match, though one who reads their diaries suspects that Tom treated her variously as daughter, wife and sweetheart. Bessie—as Elizabeth was called—was twenty-one when Tom left for Utah; Harriet, nicknamed Harry, was three years old and Elisha was barely one.[9]

A quixotic mixture of altruistic and self-conscious aspirations, Kane penned a letter in 1850 that merits quoting for the light it throws on his mission to Utah. Recalling his earlier experiences with the Latter-day Saints in Iowa and Nebraska, he wrote: "I believe there is a crisis in the life of every man, when he is called upon to decide seriously and permanently if he will die unto sin and live unto righteousness. . . . Such an event, I believe . . . was my visit [with you]. . . ."[10] This sense of calling permeated much of his later humanitarian activity, although his religious sentiments fluctuated between the poles of agnostic humanism and fervent Christianity.

The same letter adds: "I had great temptations to a political career. . . . But now, I have lost almost entirely the natural love for intrigue and management that once were [*sic*] a prominent trait in my character." This affirmation is only partially consistent with Kane's subsequent record. He no longer sought to use the Mormons to forward personal political ambitions, as he had done during the first Mormon Battalion contacts,[11] but he worked the national political scene in their behalf for thirty years. He refused the territorial governorship of Utah from President Millard Fillmore and a possible Senate seat and a territorial delegateship from Brigham Young, but he advised Utah delegates and journalists, lobbied congressmen and presidents, wrote briefs and letters for others to publish, and even tried to manage Brigham Young. In the Utah War he saw himself as the direc-

[8] Zobell, *Sentinel*, pp. 6–12; Kane Papers, BYU, box 17, fd. 6.

[9] E. W. Kane Diary, title page; "'Confidential Entries': Being the Diary of Thomas Leiper Kane Kept on His Trip to Salt Lake City by Way of the Isthmus and California in 1858," 2 vols. (hereinafter cited as T. L. Kane Diary). Winther, *The Private Papers*, pp. 63–79, gives all of the first volume but only a few excerpts from the second of the pocket-size notebooks that Tom took west; both are in the Stanford University Library. Microfilm copies and a typescript of the fragmentary notations in the second volume are in the LDS Church Archives.

[10] Kane to "My dear friends, all of you," July 11, 1850, in Arrington, "'In Honorable Remembrance,'" p. 392.

[11] E. W. Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes*, pp. ix–xi.

tor, with providential aid, of a drama whose last act had not yet been written. Some details of the finale disappointed him, but the larger outcomes were remarkably close to the script that he plotted in Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Great Salt Lake City, and Camp Scott.[12]

Alfred Cumming. USHS collections.

As for other protagonists in the drama, James Buchanan, a "Northern man with Southern sympathies," was beset from the moment he took office by problems beyond his control. Sectional politics was splitting his party and the country, and in the fall a financial panic put his administration into a fiscal bind. When his Utah initiative floundered, he sought to extricate himself with a minimum of political damage. His cabinet was divided on what to do about Utah, with Secretary of War John B. Floyd heading the hawks and the president's fellow Pennsylvanian, Attorney General Jeremiah S. Black, favoring Kane's mission and other dovish approaches to the problem.

Alfred Cumming, fifty-five years old and 250 pounds broad, brought some political and administrative experience to the governor's post and was probably the best qualified of the federal spoilsmen who spent the winter at Eckelsville. Albert Sidney Johnston, the Utah Expedition commander, was a fifty-four-year-old West Pointer, a veteran of campaigns against Indians and Mexicans, and a former commander of the army of the republic of Texas. His troops were superior in weapons and training, but not in stamina and enthusiasm, to the citizen soldiers of the Nauvoo Legion who confronted them.

Brigham Young needs no biographical sketch here, and his actions in the Utah War are quite understandable if one is willing to credit him with actually believing what he said many times during the long crisis. The second coming of Christ *is* near. The United States *will* soon be sundered and the Mormon priesthood *will* then give correct application to the principles of the U.S. Constitution in an

[12] This aspect of Thomas L. Kane means that the documents he generated in connection with the Utah War need to be handled with care. His letters, diaries, and minutes are often cryptic, fragmentary, or obscure, and he was not above interpreting the record to fit the script.

earthly kingdom of God. All temporal arrangements *are*, therefore, temporary. God's purposes *will* be fulfilled and He *will* lead His people and inspire His prophet as they seek His guidance.[13] Young's pragmatism, noted by contemporaries and applauded by twentieth-century historians, was entirely tactical; his religious convictions shaped his Utah War strategy as they shaped his life.

So it was that Young could ask Kane for assistance, welcome the assistance and follow the advice when it came, even sign the letters that Kane drafted for him, and then say when it was all over, as recorded by Wilford Woodruff:

> God controlls all the acts of men. When Col Kane Came to visit us He tried to point out a line of Policy for me to persue but I told him I should not turn to the right or left or persue any Course ownly as God dictated me. . . . when he found that I would not be influenced ownly as the spirit of the Lord led me he felt discouraged & said he would not go to the armey. But He finally said if I would dictate he would execute I told him as he has been inspired to Come here he should go to the armey and do as the spirit led him to do and all would be right and he did so and all was right. . . .[14]

The same confidence in providential oversight was reflected in Young's benediction at the close of their first meeting in Great Salt Lake City: "Brother Thomas the Lord sent you here and he will not let you die. No you Cannot die till your work is done. I want to have your name live with the Saints to all Eternity. . . ."[15]

Kane's decision to go to Utah followed months of intermittent effort to influence the policies of the Buchanan administration. During the transitional period between the presidential election and inauguration, Young had asked Kane's help in securing his own reappointment as governor as well as favorable congressional consideration of Deseret's latest bid for statehood and the appointment of Utah citizens to territorial posts if that failed.[16] Kane worked with Delegate John M. Bernhisel and other Mormon agents in the East to effect

[13] Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), pp. 3–44. Furniss and Poll contain numerous examples of Brigham Young's political rhetoric, which was echoed by Heber C. Kimball and George A. Smith of the First Presidency, Nauvoo Legion commander Daniel H. Wells, and many others in the Mormon church hierarchy.

[14] August 15, 1858, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1984), 5:208–9.

[15] Ibid., February 25, 1858, 5:171.

[16] Young to Kane, January 7 and 31, 1857, Brigham Young Letterbooks, 3:273–77, 360, LDS Church Archives.

these ends without success. The untimely death of his brother Elisha involved him heavily in family business during the period in which Buchanan shaped his Utah policy. He wrote to the president late in March, offering to advise him on Utah affairs; and he helped John Taylor write a detailed rebuttal to territorial Judge W. W. Drummond's resignation letter, which he forwarded through Attorney General Black, a good friend of Judge Kane. In an unpublished review of his dealings with Buchanan, written immediately after his return from Utah, Kane charged that unnamed anti-Mormons in the administration intercepted some of his correspondence and turned it over to hostile reporters. "I felt also," he added, "that I was the subject of a personal indignity and therefore . . . made no further effort, to admonish the President of the errors of his course." Ill health plus business in northwestern Pennsylvania kept Kane out of touch with Utah affairs until the Utah Expedition and new federal officials were on their way west.[17]

The determination to resist this invasion did not blind Brigham Young to the advantages of avoiding an armed clash if possible. Early in August 1857 he sent Samuel W. Richards on an errand that made little sense if war was seen as inevitable. He was to deliver a message to Kane in Philadelphia before proceeding to England on church business. In Kane's absence Richards left a letter stressing the firm Mormon resolve never to "submit to be interferred [*sic*] with in our religious views and practices. . . ." He invited Kane to communicate with Young and expressed regret that he could not write as freely as he might have spoken about Young's "full intentions relative to the Government and the course he should pursue. . . ."[18] Kane did not receive the letter until Richards was overseas, and he did not write to Utah. Nor did he respond to a letter from Young that Bernhisel brought him in mid-October—a message that "we are resolved to resist such unheard of oppression to the last extremity." The Utah delegate was going back to Congress, another evidence that the Mormon leader did not see bloodshed as inescapable.[19]

[17] Kane to Buchanan, March 21, 1857, typescript, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 2; Kane to Jeremiah S. Black, April 27, 1857, Black Papers, microfilm, Library of Congress; Kane, "Concerning the Mormons and Pres. Buchanan," p. 1, Kane Papers, APS. This narrative was apparently written for an account of the Utah mission that his brother, Robert Patterson Kane, planned to publish but did not.

[18] Richards to Kane, September 16, 1857, Kane Papers, Yale (microfilm, LDS Church Archives).

[19] Young added: "We feel that we can rely upon your aid and influence in averting the fearful storm." Should it break, he invited Kane to "come with all your household and receive the just recompense of daring to speak, act and feel in behalf of an innocent—but much abused people." Young to Kane, September 12, 1857, Brigham Young Letterbooks, 3:849–53.

John M. Bernhisel. USHS collections.

By his own account, Kane was shocked to discover through the Richards letter and then from Bernhisel and Capt. Stewart Van Vliet that "the Mormons were determined to resist our troops and were, the most staid and reliable men among them, in an exceedingly unhappy and distempered state of mind." Urged by the messengers from Utah and several Philadelphia associates, he went to Washington early in November. There he found the president "reluctant to admit that he had committed any error" but insistent that the orders to Cumming and the troops "were of a character to prevent a precipitate advance." He concluded the brief account of this interview: "I really thought that it was too late in the Season for me to force my way among the Mormons, and I will admit was sufficiently recreant a citizen to congratulate myself upon not having the responsibility put upon me of refusing the President to make an effort at that time to save the administration and the country."[20]

Bernhisel, who took his congressional seat in December with little objection, continued to urge Kane to work with the president. The colonel was distracted during most of November by personal illness and a family crisis—Bessie's father, William Wood, had a complete breakdown under business reverses brought on by the national financial panic. Tom also met resistance from Bessie whenever the possibility of going to Utah was broached. As news of the army's plight excited grave apprehension in the press and Congress, however, he finally felt impelled to act.[21]

The president's message to the new Thirty-fifth Congress on December 8, 1857, may have been the catalyst. Buchanan called for adding four regiments to the army in order to "convince these deluded people that resistance would be vain, and thus spare the effu-

[20] Kane, "Concerning the Mormons and Pres. Buchanan," pp. 2–3.

[21] Ibid., p. 3; Bernhisel to Kane, December 9, 1857, typescript, LDS Church Archives; John K. Kane, Jr., to "Father and Mother," Paris, December 9, 1857, Kane Papers, APS; E. W. Kane Diary, October 26, November 12, December 26, 1857.

sion of blood."[22] A surprising consequence of the William Wood difficulties may have helped clear the way. In her diary, Bessie Kane wrote: "God has mercifully brought out of them one great blessing already, in uniting Tom and me in the bonds of a common faith." On the day Kane told Buchanan of his intentions, she inscribed this prayer in the journal: "Lord, if I give Him to Thee cheerfully wilt Thou deign to accept it as my Thank offering for Thy infinite goodness in making him a Christian. . . ." The shared belief that the Utah mediation project was God's will is reflected in the diaries and letters of both of them.[23]

To facilitate reopening the subject with Buchanan, Kane arranged for a mutual friend, U.S. Attorney James C. Van Dyke, to write a letter of introduction. It is a rather strange document, possibly drafted by Kane and clearly phrased so that publication would embarrass no one. It reviews the colonel's experience with the Mormons and reports his willingness to "make an expedition to Salt Lake this winter, even at his own expense, if hostilities have not advanced to such a point as would render useless any efforts on his part." "He does not wish to annoy you, unless you desire to see him," Van Dyke added. "He is full of courage, and if his judgment is correct, he may be able to avert a war of extermination against a poor deluded race."[24]

Kane was accompanied to Washington by Van Dyke, who assured Buchanan privately that the colonel was still intent on going to Utah. Buchanan apparently expressed interest in Bernhisel's views, noting that the Utah delegate had not recently been to see him. So Van Dyke held a long meeting with the Utah delegate, who regretted that Kane had not gone earlier but added that "if any one could produce a better state of feeling in that country, it would be yourself [Kane]." Apparently Van Dyke reported these views to the president before Kane went to the White House on Monday, December 28.[25]

Because Kane's 1858 memoir of his dealings with Buchanan has

[22] John Bassett Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia: Antiquarian Press, 1960), 10:151–54. The debate over reinforcements dragged on until April. By the time two volunteer regiments were finally authorized, peace commissioners were being appointed and the authorization was never implemented. Poll, "The Mormon Question," pp. 162–84.

[23] E. W. Kane Diary, December 26, 28, 1857, and January 17, 1858.

[24] Van Dyke to Buchanan, December 9, 1857, Buchanan Papers, microfilm, Library of Congress. The letter is puzzling because Kane certainly required no introduction to Buchanan. He may have feared that the November interview had alienated the president or hoped that a prominent Democrat like Van Dyke could influence Buchanan to give Kane's project official sanction.

[25] Van Dyke to Kane, March 29, 1859, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 7. Bernhisel endorsed this letter, which Kane solicited from Van Dyke. Bernhisel is quoted as having said of Kane: "Oh no! He is no Mormon. . . ." In her diary, April 4, 1858, Bessie wrote: "My darling, people call you a 'Mormon' as in the old time they called our Master Publican and Sinner."

not been published, its account of this meeting merits quoting at length. It is addressed to his next youngest brother, Robert Patterson (Pat) Kane:

> . . . The President received me in a manner for which, thinking it over, I don't intend to forget that I ought to be grateful. He had heard of the intention of the Mormons to assail our little army at a very early date. He knew they must succumb. He had, I have since understood, been opposed to pushing the army beyond Laramie. He knew that disaster to the army would be before the country a disgrace to his administration. I don't think that he believed there was a chance of escape open to any of them, but the constant burden of his remarks was to urge an old friend's grandson [*sic*] to give up all thought of an enterprise which he assured him must be vain, rash and foolhardy and which promised no other possible result than the sacrifice of his own life which would be adding to the weight of the public indignation against the unfortunate Mormons.
>
> One of the difficulties which I experienced was to convince Mr. Buchanan that I was determined to go, whether with his approbation or not, and that the only question at last for him to resolve was, whether in case I should succeed in reaching Salt Lake City, I should not be provided by him with my proper means of influence there. He then again displayed a degree of consideration, for which I ought to remember I must thank him. I had to convince his reason why I must refuse an appointment from him, by showing him how important it was that I could be warranted in assuring the Mormons on my honor that I was not a Government agent or removed from the impartial position of a private citizen. In a letter which he wrote for me he stated this at my request. But he afterwards urged me and I remember how much it seemed to be upon his mind at the close of our last interview to receive compensation for my services or at least for my expenses from the public treasury. I was obliged I remember to remind him how important it might be for my personal safety to be without credentials: It was not enough for me to say—I failed to show him why I must refuse a price for risking my life in the service of my country. Finally, I remember this with pleasure, "Well, you can be compensated for your *expenses*," laying emphasis upon the word, from the secret service fund. Though the expression of his face was most affectionate, when he said this, I probably showed the twinge which I felt at the word secret service fund in my own less expressive countenance. For he grasped my hand, and asking me with much fervor to excuse him said, "I promise you, I promise you, to say no more of this—at least until your return."—To be sure after this he still persisted in urging me to believe that if I went I would not return.
>
> I say what you do not like to hear me say, but many a time after when I was hard driven, I was helped to carry myself through by remembering not merely the particular confidence to which it was a com-

James Buchanan. Library of Congress photograph in USHS collections.

pliment that he admitted me whom he had never known except as his opponent in our State, but numerous express kind and friendly words, rallying my pride of family, and convincing me that at least I would not be forgotten by him, if my life was thrown away.

My power you have understood rightly from Mr. Buchanan was the same as those of Messrs. Powell and McCullough [*sic*] sent out in April as Commissioners.

I know this from Mr. Buchanan reading over to me their instructions last week. The only difference between us was that they were the bearers of a general pardon, while I had a discretionary power as pardons were to be granted upon my recommendation. I still however remember a humane expression of the President's which I wrote down at the time and afterwards repeated with good effect, "I should be glad to pardon *the whole of them.*"[26]

The proposal Kane made to Buchanan was that he be authorized to suggest to Brigham Young that a peaceful settlement with the government could be had on these terms: Acceptance of Alfred Cumming as governor and establishment of a military post at some distance from any Mormon settlement in exchange for a general pardon for offenses associated with the current confrontation.[27]

If the president accepted this proposal in principle, as Delegate Bernhisel believed and other evidence implies, there remained the matter of what he should put into writing on Kane's behalf. The two letters sent to Kane on December 31, 1857, suggest the colonel was only partially successful in his efforts to shape their content. The one introducing him to civil and military officials who might be encoun-

[26] Kane, "Concerning the Mormons and Pres. Buchanan," pp.3–5.

[27] Bernhisel to Young, December 31, 1857, endorses Kane's approach and suggests that a site be prepared for the army in Rush Valley. This letter, which Kane carried to Utah, adds: "I have no doubt whatever of the President's sincerity or his desire to give every power to Colonel Kane the support of whose family and political friends has at this exigency been made by the divine will of value to him. . . ." Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 3.

tered came close to the model that Kane offered—the letter that President James K. Polk had written on his behalf when he went west in 1846 to arrange for the Mormon Battalion. The one intended for Mormon eyes, however, vouched for Kane's good intentions and affirmed the president's interest in peace, but it neither stated nor implied what Kane had proposed—that his "personal word would have great weight" in the matter of executive clemency.[28]

In a private note accompanying the two letters Buchanan said: "They are as strong as I can write them after taking a review of the whole ground, and I hope they may prove satisfactory. . . . If you go, may Heaven protect you!"[29] Judge Kane, who had resisted his son's decision and was sensitive to the president's political predicament, included this revealing language in a note Tom found in his luggage when he was at sea:

> Mr. Buchanan's letters to you are certainly strong and clear enough, if they could be met in a corresponding spirit. You wrong him and me too, if you suppose that my opposition to your scheme has made their phraseology less definite than his oral pledges to yourself. . . . Virtually these letters engage him for all that you can honestly ask.[30]

From the time Tom sailed from New York on the *Moses Malone* on January 5, 1858, until he returned to Philadelphia and Washington almost six months later, he played the role of a man of mystery. What is now known about his relations with the president requires revision of Norman Furniss's assertions that "Buchanan revealed no desire to terminate the campaign as an admittedly expensive and unpopular blunder" and that in using noncommittal language in the official letters to Kane he was not "merely protecting himself from future embarrassment should Kane fail. . . ."[31] Still, the colonel could not represent the president openly, so he undertook to arrange a settlement of the Utah impasse that would meet Buchanan's objectives while making Brigham Young and Alfred Cumming seem the primary peacemakers.

[28] James C. Van Dyke to Buchanan, December 29, 1857, Buchanan Papers. Buchanan's two letters of introduction are published in Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, 10:167–68.

[29] Buchanan to Kane, December 31, 1857, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 3. Kane to Buchanan, January 3, 1858, Buchanan Papers, expresses thanks and optimism, adding: "I will not be a disappointed man unless I fail to prove myself."

[30] John K. Kane to Thomas L. Kane, January 4, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 1, fd. 12.

[31] Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, pp. 170–71. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 4:347–48, is also in error on this point. The note became a poignant memento when Judge Kane died of pneumonia on February 22, 1858; Tom received the news in Utah when his diplomatic errand was substantially finished.

Evidence of Kane's penchant for the mysterious and dramatic abounds. He traveled to Utah as A. Osborne, taking the name of a Kane family servant who was emigrating to California on the same ship. Bessie later wrote that the first shipboard references to her husband as Osborne were accidental, but he "thought it prudent not to correct the mistake." Accidental or deliberate, he used the incognito until he reached Utah, adding the title Doctor to authenticate his cover story that he was studying plant life.[32]

He carried his wife's Bible with him and used it as the key for several cipher letters that he wrote to his father and brother Pat. Unable to locate a second copy of the same edition of the Bible, Bessie had some difficulty decoding the messages.[33] As earlier noted, Kane also kept journals. The first volume records the journey from New York to San Francisco, with descriptions of Panama and melancholy references to seasickness. The second, covering his time in the West, is an intriguing mass of fragmentary notations, some barely legible, that probably reflect both intermittent physical exhaustion and concern lest information fall into unfriendly hands.[34]

Evidence of Kane's efforts to influence communications between key people with whom he was dealing and information flowing to the press may be found in the papers of Brigham Young as well as his own files. Illustrations are as diverse as several drafts of news stories intended to be placed in California and eastern papers, letters clearly composed by Kane but signed by others, notes for letters that Young wrote to Cumming and Kane himself, and interviews in which the colonel described events to fit his evolving scenario.[35]

A letter from Daniel H. Wells to Young, written in May when Kane and Cumming were in Great Salt Lake City and Young was at the temporary church headquarters in Provo, shows the colonel as a shaper of events. According to Wells, Kane wanted the California mail delayed in Provo if necessary, so that its possible contents might not

[32] Elizabeth W. Kane, note accompanying a transcript of Utah War correspondence that she prepared for Brigham Young's son, Richard W. Young, almost 50 years afterward. John K. Kane Papers, microfilm, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Harrisburg.

[33] E. W. Kane Diary, February 15, April 14, 16, 20, May 19, June 12, 1858. Other examples of the cipher, which involved simple letter substitution, are in Kane Papers, Stanford, and Kane Papers, Yale.

[34] See fn. 9. Kane also relayed encoded letters, affectionate notes, and clippings from the California press through Antony Osborne in San Francisco until he had access to the mail service from Camp Scott. Thomas L. Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, February 5, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 3; May 2, 1858, tucked in E. W. Kane Diary.

[35] A number of examples in Kane's own hand are in Kane Papers, APS; others are in the Stanford, Yale, and BYU libraries.

influence the dispatches that Cumming was writing to Washington, and he persuaded Cumming to forward his dispatches to Camp Scott by Mormons, who are "gentlemanly men who will civilly answer all civil questions and refuse to answer all others. . . . He thinks . . . that it will tend to add fuel to the fire between Cumming and Johnston."[36] By then Kane was convinced that Cumming was going to have serious difficulties with Johnston and most of the federal civil officials. The complex course that the colonel later followed in Philadelphia and Washington demonstrated his ongoing interest in establishing and defending a Young-Cumming hegemony in Utah.[37]

This photograph of Brigham Young was taken about 1860. Susa Young Gates Collection at USHS.

Kane had elected to go by boat from San Francisco to Los Angeles and thence overland after learning that the Fort Hall route into Utah was impassable in winter. His stop in San Bernardino was marked by an altercation with anti-Mormons and apostate Mormons that he later used to support his public relations thesis that a war faction among the Mormons had tried to block him in order to precipitate a fight with the army.[38]

The days in Great Salt Lake City, February 25 to March 8, were busy and apparently pleasant for Kane. He arrived worn out but re-

[36] Wells to Young, May 1, 1858, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, LDS Church Archives.

[37] Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, pp. 204–27, Roberts, *A Comprehensive History*, 4:452–518, and Donald R. Moorman with Gene A. Sessions, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), pp. 37–41, 70–71, 80, 105, 114, 119–20, review the tug-of-war pitting Cumming against Johnston and the judges. Kane's later contributions included a public lecture before the New York Historical Society, March 22, 1859, on "The Executive of Utah," strongly supporting Cumming's course. *New York Times*, March 22, 1859, p. 4; and *New York Herald*, March 22, 1859, p. 4.

[38] Undated draft by Kane of a possible news release from Great Salt Lake City mentioning earlier California newspaper stories supporting this interpretation. File, "Concerning the Mormons," Kane Papers, APS.

vived under the attentions he received, first in the William C. Staines home—today's Devereaux House—and later in the Lion House. There, he wrote afterward, he "really did know what comfort and good living were."[39]

The fullest account of what transpired in the thirty-minute private conversation that he had with Young on the evening of his arrival is the draft of a letter that he apparently prepared for the Mormon leader. Never published, it tells of the well-documented council meeting in which Kane appealed for peace and asked for a private interview with Young. Then it continues:

> In the course of our conversation which I was requested by Col Kane to consider as strictly confidential and of which I only record the essential particulars, he admitted that the action of Government in relation to the affairs of Utah had been so precipitate as to be legitimately open to misconception and expressed his surprise at learning, as he said, for the first time, that no adequate explanation had been before offered of the intentions of the Administration in ordering the army to Utah, that I had received no notification from Government that my official conduct in any respect was open to censure or to misconstruction—and that there had not even been transmitted me a notification that a successor had been appointed in my place and that I should no longer act as Governor of Utah Territory. Colonel Kane admitted that this was a grave omission and one that but for the habitual negligence of the officers of the Departments at Washington might justly be regarded as an act of injustice to the Mormon people and of personal contumely to myself. "But," he remarked, "it ought never to be too late between persons of honor and good intentions to remedy a mere misunderstanding" and begged me to believe and to accept his assurance of the fact that no disrespect had at any time been contemplated or intended me by the President of the United States. He then exhibited me the subjoined letter for my perusal.
>
> "(Blank)
>
> The letter and further explanations from Colonel Kane received my due consideration. Though tardy I accepted them as the personal apology of Mr. Buchanan.[40]

[39] Kane to Robert P. Kane, n.d. File, "In Re Mormons," Kane Papers, APS.

[40] Untitled three page mss. in "Concerning the Mormons" file, Kane Papers, APS. No evidence of when Kane produced this draft or whether Young actually saw it has been found. Wilford Woodruff recorded a reference to this apology on May 25, 1858: "While speaking of Col Kane President Young said Col Kane did say to President Buchannan [*sic*] that he owed Gov Young an apology for sending an army to Utah in the way he did and persuing [*sic*] the Course he had towards the people of that territory and He should make that apology to Gov Young for President Buchannan and he was an agent sufficient to do it." Kenney, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 5:190.


HARPER'S WEEKLY.

THE UTAH EXPEDITION.—[From our own Correspondent.]

Engraving of Col. Albert Sidney Johnston from the January 30, 1858, issue of Harper's Weekly. *USHS collections.*

Then or subsequently Kane presented his substantial proposals, for in a letter sent to the president in mid-March he stated: "I offered Young himself and his immediate friends the assurance of pardon 'for meritorious service to the U.S.'" and he reported with pleasure "the effects which even so guarded a committal" had upon their minds. Before leaving for Camp Scott he wrote to Buchanan conveying "the gratifying intelligence that you will be rewarded for the humane efforts which you have made to avert the calamities of war." He attributed the outcome to "your autograph letter and message" and the patriotic efforts of Young to control both his overzealous coreligionists and the restless Indians. By the time the letter reached the White House late in May, of course, Cumming was in office and official peace commissioners were on the way.[41]

Kane's stay in Camp Scott and Eckelsville, March 12 to April 5, contained episodes of high adventure and low comedy. An object of intense suspicion, Kane correctly but imprudently construed his business to be with the civil rather than military authorities and so failed to cultivate Colonel Johnston sufficiently for the good of his total enterprise. In fact, Kane was so upset by what may have been an effort to place him under surveillance that he almost challenged the army commander to a duel. Under Cumming's calming influence, he finally made a formal request for an explanation and Johnston coldly but sufficiently responded.[42] Angry troops apparently fired at some

[41] Kane to Buchanan, n.d. but about March 15, 1858. Kane copy in Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 4. Kane to Buchanan, March 4, 1858, sent to Judge Kane and relayed to Washington by Robert P. Kane on May 20. Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 3.

[42] Kane, "A Memorandum of the Reasons which have occasioned the delivery of a personal Communication from Mr. Kane to Colonel Johnston to be delayed, March 16, 1858," and Kane to Johnston, n.d. but May 16. Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 4. Differing versions of this episode appear in many accounts of the Utah War.

Mormon scouts who approached the camp for a first report of Kane's activities, and a shot was sent in his direction as he returned from a meeting with them.[43]

There is almost certainly a connection between the ups and downs of Kane's negotiations at Camp Scott and the deliberations in Great Salt Lake City that led to the move south. The possibility of abandoning the Mormon settlements if the Utah Expedition tried to force its way into the territory had been suggested both publicly and privately during the stalemate winter. But there had been no sense of urgency when Kane left the city.[44] Ten days later, on March 18, a meeting of church leaders and Nauvoo Legion officers discussed the tactical as well as the public relations advantages of retreating if threatened. The concept was apparently approved in principle, but according to Hosea Stout, who was there, "no definite measures" were adopted and "the council adjourned till 8th April. . . ." Kane's escort returned to the Mormon capital on March 19, bringing advice from the colonel to "be calm" but no solid news of an encouraging nature. The army had made no secret of its attitude, and it was by no means clear that Cumming could control its action even if he accepted Kane's recommendations.[45]

This news apparently converted contingency plans into action. On Sunday, March 21, a special conference in the tabernacle initiated the massive program to relocate all the Mormons in the northern half of the territory. Once launched, the exodus to central and southern Utah did not end until the Utah Expedition was safely in Cedar Valley in July. It was against this background that Kane pursued his subsequent peacemaking efforts.[46]

Those efforts soon transformed the move south, though the colonel was unable to halt the evacuation. When William H. Kimball met Kane at Quaking Aspen Hill on March 25 he asked for a reaction to the new policy. Kane apparently did not discourage the move; indeed, he later wrote favorably of its public relations benefits. But he offered more good news than bad. Cumming had agreed to come to

[43] Furniss, *The Mormon Conflict*, pp. 178–82; Roberts, *A Comprehensive History*, 4:349–59.

[44] A day later Brigham's son John reached Kane with an offer to provide 1,500 or 2,000 pounds of flour and 200 head of cattle if Johnston would accept them. The offer and the tone of the letter suggest hope, if not optimism. Young to Kane, March 9, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 3. The offer was rejected.

[45] Poll, "The Move South," *BYU Studies*, 29 (Fall 1989): 65–68; Clifford L. Stott, *Search for Sanctuary: Brigham Young and the White Mountain Expedition* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), pp. 49–65.

[46] Poll, "The Move South," pp. 69–85.

Great Salt Lake City without the troops and in spite of Johnston's objections.[47] Among the signs that these tidings transformed the move south are the early disappearance of references to a new church headquarters in southern Utah and the real estate purchases that Brigham Young made in Provo when he moved his family there early in April. The contingency remained that the army might pursue a belligerent or undisciplined course, but from the time Cumming and Kane arrived in Great Salt Lake City on April 12, the mass migration seemed to be sustained by its own momentum rather than political or military exigencies.[48]

Despite his problems with the army, Kane quickly established a comfortable relationship with Cumming and his wife, Elizabeth, as well as Superintendent of Indian Affairs Jacob Forney. Letters that Cumming and Forney sent to Washington were quite compatible with those that Kane sent to the president in urging restraint upon the military and changes in some of the civilian appointments.[49] If they did not produce personnel changes, they at least prevented critics within and outside the cabinet from effecting changes with an opposite thrust.

That Kane's presence helped Cumming decide to go to Great Salt Lake City without his army escort is not likely to be disputed. Kane's private papers do not minimize that influence. The diary notes written at Eckelsville include several reasons "which in my opinion justify Gov. Cumming as a prudent man in hazarding his proposed journey. . . ." He could "help peace negotiations and override Johnston's influence, rally my friends and peace party generally," and "ease the crisis in popular feeling because of passage of a month without good tidings. . . ." En route east later, Kane's public statements stressed the autonomy of Cumming's decision, but the memoir he wrote a few weeks later describes the governor's agreement "that I should order him in every respect as I thought fit, and that until I brought him back to camp, he would obey me in every respect in all

[47] Young to Kane, March 22, 1858, copied in T. L. Kane Diary, 2, n.p., Winther, *The Private Papers*, p. 77; Kane to Young, July 18, 1858. Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence.

[48] Kane later suggested that Young could not afford to reverse the policy while the army was still making threatening noises; one of the colonel's draft newspaper stories says: "The effect of his changing his position for the third time would have been to discredit entirely his extraordinary pretentions [*sic*] as one receiving revelations from the Most High." File, "Concerning the Mormons," Kane Papers, APS.

[49] Forney to Black, April 18, May 1, 6, 26, June 12, 25, 1858, Black Papers; Cumming to James L. Orr, May 12, 1858, quoted in Orr to Buchanan, June 21, 1858, Buchanan Papers; Kane to Buchanan, April 4, 1858, Kane copy, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 5.

things implicitly. He did so as became a gallant gentleman who had given his word. . . ."[50] If Kane's arguments helped Cumming decide to go to the Mormons, the cordial reception they received in Echo Canyon and northern Utah settlements during their week-long progression to Great Salt Lake City convinced the governor that he had acted wisely.[51]

From April 12 to May 13 Kane served as Cumming's live-in companion, interpreter of Mormons and Mormonism, and frequent counselor. They were an odd couple, the genial Southerner outweighing his up-tight Yankee friend by about two pounds to one. If Kane was aware of Cumming's alleged flirtations with the girls who worked at Staines's boarding house, he was discreet about it.[52] He was pleased with the way Young and Cumming became comfortable with each other, and after what he called the "final and decisive interview" involving the three men, he added this note to his diary on April 24: "I am and know myself to be *happy*."[53] Kane apparently did not attend the special Mormon conference on April 25 at which Cumming was subjected to emotional attacks and improved his local image by responding calmly and constructively. Thereafter the governor became more and more involved with official business, while the colonel continued to meet formally and informally with his Mormon friends. The two men visited various Mormon communities, urging a halt to the move south, and they collaborated on reports to Washington.

Word of his father's death reached Kane on May 5, and, grief-stricken, he resolved to return home. He and Cumming traveled together to Camp Scott where they first learned the disappointing news that Buchanan had appointed peace commissioners. With Kane's collaboration Cumming had just written to the secretary of state reporting his successful assumption of office, and he did not care to be upstaged.[54] Kane was looking forward to reporting his own accomplish-

[50] T. L. Kane Diary, 2, n.p.; File, "Concerning the Mormons."

[51] It must also have made him glad that he had not followed an earlier impulse, noted by Kane, to go incognito as a Southern preacher. T. L. Kane Diary, 2, n.p. When Kane reached Great Salt Lake City he reportedly told Brigham Young that "he had caught the fish, now you can cook it as you have a mind to." Manuscript History of Brigham Young, April 13, 1858, LDS Church Archives.

[52] A cipher message, apparently written to Judge Kane on April 18, says of "the brave Cumming": "He has made one grave mistake, not to be mentioned but is right on public matters." E. W. Kane Diary, June 12, 1858.

[53] Winther, *The Private Papers*, p. ix.

[54] Cumming to Lewis Cass, May 2, 1858, Moore, *The Works of James Buchanan*, pp. 217–18; Elizabeth Cumming to Kane, June 25, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 6. A draft of Cumming's letter to Cass, in Kane's handwriting with Cumming's revisions, is in Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 5.

ment and recommendations directly to the president and was understandably concerned lest the commissioners upset his program.

Later press speculation that Buchanan had agreed in December to send peace commissioners as soon as there was reason to believe Kane had made it safely to Utah is unprovable,[55] but strong circumstantial evidence argues that the President placed some hope on the outcome of Kane's efforts. A proclamation offering amnesty to the Mormons in exchange for accepting Cumming and the army was signed (but not publicly announced) on April 6, and the next day the War Department ordered Johnston not to advance until the peace commissioners arrived. Both the timing of the proclamation and the leisurely procedure in forwarding it suggest that, despite recent alarmist dispatches from Camp Scott, Buchanan did not see hostilities as imminent. Not until April 12 did Ben McCulloch and Lazarus W. Powell receive instructions, the same day Alfred Cumming and Thomas Kane arrived in Great Salt Lake City. When the commissioners reported the acceptance of the amnesty exactly two months later, Governor and Mrs. Cumming were with them in Utah and Colonel Kane was a week away from reunion with his wife and family in Philadelphia.[56]

The appointment of peace envoys upset the Kane family, who feared it would "take all the wind out of Tom's sails." Pat Kane and some associates began putting stories in various papers about his brother's mission, updating them from reports that came through California until good news from Camp Scott made Tom an instant celebrity. After the months of anxious waiting, Bessie Kane told her diary on May 20: "The Town rings with his praises. At the club they call him "The Napoleon of Peace.'"[57]

Trapped between factions in his administration that were interested in reinforcing the army and those who favored the peace policy, Buchanan sometimes inquired privately about "our friend Kane" but withheld public comment until the news was officially confirmed. Bessie's journal shows her to be worried that the president might not "uphold Tom."[58] When Pat Kane took his brother's April 5

[55] New York *Times*, June 25, 1858, p. 1.

[56] Poll, "The Mormon Question," pp. 111–36. By withholding his amnesty plans from Congress and the public, and permitting the administration organ, the Washington *Union*, to persist in predictions of war, Buchanan avoided the necessity of a humiliating retreat should the negotiations fail, and might hope to reap some glory from a peace unexpectedly proclaimed.

[57] E. W. Kane Diary, May 17–21, 1858.

[58] Ibid., April 10, 12, 18–20, May 2, 21, 1858. The April 20 entry credits a Kane family friend with planting a letter in an unnamed paper speculating that Kane "is accredited to his old friend B.Y.," thus giving the army "peace emissaries on both sides."

letters to the White House on May 20 he was cordially received. According to Bessie, Buchanan said McCulloch and Powell "were no more Commissioners than Tom himself, spoke of Tom as a noble character . . . and with his own hand wrote a notice to the [Washington] Union, saying that Tom was no Mormon, but a worthy brother of Elisha's. . . ."[59]

Kane's reunion with his family on June 18, 1858, was joyous. Bessie noted that "he looked far better in health than when he left here," and she reported "crying for hours over my darling's notebook and some marks dated in my Bible." The euphoria, unfortunately, did not last. Tom soon told Bessie that "the hope that had dawned on him of being a Christian was gone." His return also rekindled a small family disagreement over whether Tom should seek governmental acknowledgement and recompense for the $3,800 that the trip apparently cost in lost income and out-of-pocket expenses. Judge Kane's death had foreclosed the possibility of reappointment to the court clerkship, and Bessie was acutely mindful of this change in economic prospects as she whiled away the last months of her husband's long absence. She favored filing a claim, while Pat changed his mind after the meeting with Buchanan; perhaps he envisioned a profitable book such as had been written about Elisha Kane's adventures in the Arctic. When Tom persistently refused to accept expense money either from the government or from the Mormons, it provoked this note in Bessie's diary:

> Still, he wills it, and notwithstanding his theory of partnership, equal rights, and so forth, practically the only result of my disapproval is to depress his spirits, and make him firm in the belief, which I know he entertains, that my honour is not as delicate as his, and that my mercantile associations make me covetous.[60]

Kane went to the White House on Monday, June 22. According to Bessie, Buchanan was effusive in his welcome and thanks. She quotes only this bit of dialogue: "TLK: 'Well, Sir, Have I been as good as my word?' JB: 'Better—more than good as your word.'" But the conversation soon shifted from the past to the future and differences of opinion

[59] Ibid., May 21, 1858. The same entry notes that the *Union* published the denial.

[60] Ibid., May 21, 1858. See also entries for February 19–26, April 3, 20, 23, May 21, 26, June 18, 20, 1858. On May 28 Bessie wrote: "Yes, but I must remember that as Tom gave up his employment for Christ's sake, He will take care of him." Brigham Young offered reimbursement for the $1,200 in drafts cashed in Utah but the Colonel refused. Ibid., June 20, 1858; Young to Kane, May 12, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 6; George Q. Cannon to Young, January 9, 1859, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence.

surfaced. Kane urged the president to rely on the Cumming-Young axis and to replace the territorial officials who had been working against them. Most of the five days Kane spent in Washington with Buchanan and his advisers were devoted to these matters, and most of the cabinet were reluctant to accept his recommendations and his affirmative evaluation of Brigham Young. The best he could say afterward was that "they were honest and open differences . . . and if he did not convince at once, what wonder, seeing that the truth had been kept from them by designing persons, and they no doubt heard it from him for the first time."[61]

Kane's initial report to Young, written before a physical relapse incapacitated him early in July, was optimistic. "The Administration will do right," he promised. "Give way: Go on giving way: be superior to all provocation this single summer through;—and I promise you as complete a triumph for the future, as the most hopeful among you ever dreamed of."[62]

Efforts to sway Washington policy and to clarify his own position through the press during July only increased public speculation about whether Kane had been a government agent and made him distrust the administration, even his closest contact, Jeremiah Black.[63] Illness attributable at least in part to stress may have contributed to the decision not to publish his own report and to abandon, at least temporarily, the effort to influence Utah affairs. On July 30 he wrote to a friend: "My connection with the government is at an end, and I have done with public affairs, as I sincerely hope, for ever."[64]

Happily for his Mormon friends, that defeatist resolve did not last. It could hardly have done so, given the testimony with which the "Friend of the Mormons" concluded his unpublished synopsis of his Utah experience:

[61] E. W. Kane diary, June 20, 1858. The entry was obviously completed during the following several days. Kane reported that he had been offered "the embassy to Naples as hush money," and they agreed it was unacceptable. Buchanan did not publicly acknowledge Kane's contribution until his annual message to Congress, December 6, 1858. Moore, *The Papers of James Buchanan*, 10:242–45.

[62] Kane to Young, July 5, 1858, Kane copy, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 6.

[63] Elizabeth W. Kane to Black, July 3; Black to Elizabeth W. Kane, July 7; Thomas L. Kane to Black, July 20; Black to Kane, July 26; Kane to Black, July 29, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 6. Kane was sick when he had Bessie send Black a draft letter reporting administration support for Cumming and requesting Black to approve his sending it to Brigham Young by a Mormon courier. Buchanan and Black declined to do so and Kane was not mollified by Black's assurances on July 26 that "your voluntary and patriotic services are highly valued."

[64] Kane to Eli K. Price, July 30, 1858, Kane Papers, Stanford; Kane to Buchanan, July 20 and Price to Kane, July 26, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 6, 7.

> I am glad, I say, to conclude my remarks to you, dear Patty, to whom I now speak more freely than to any other living person, that next to myself—this is modest—our country owes more to Brigham Young than to any other human being in our generation. The efforts he has made to save us, have perhaps before this, cost him his life. All we, like Sheep, have gone astray. B. Young, painter and glazier, also went astray at one time—but if not since a certain day last fall, at least since the 1st of March 1858, he has been laboring for his salvation upon his knees, without the honors of a noble Christian.[65]

Kane's yearning for adventure has already been mentioned. That he found a measure of fulfillment in his mission to Utah is revealed in a note to his wife: "I have tested my prowess enough to be sure of what is in my blood. . . ."[66] That he often felt inspired is also demonstrable. Just before his first departure from Great Salt Lake City he wrote in his diary: "My Bessie, my darling, oh, believe me, and teach our children that neither price nor temper have led me in this matter, but that I have had in view the furtherance of those high and *Christian* aims for which you suffered me to bring my life higher."[67] When he returned from meeting William Kimball in the mountains he wrote:

> And now behold my first Sunday—the first time since I embraced this work, that I have heard the Order to Halt & Stand at Ease. I have returned from a trip on which I was *successful* in making the arrangements for *introducing Governor C. into the Valley*, with the feeling that I have now done my last uttermost, and may leave the future to a less finite power.[68]

Four days later he closed the journal of his Utah mission with this melancholy and widely relevant observation: "I think that too truthful [a] picture of the passage of [the] hours [of] life—in one man's life and a great nation's history wd. overpower him & surely he wd. blaspheme or he wd. break his heart."[69]

[65] Thomas L. Kane to Robert P. Kane, n.d., 8 pp., in "In re Mormons" file, Kane Papers, APS.

[66] Kane to Elizabeth W. Kane, March 24, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 5.

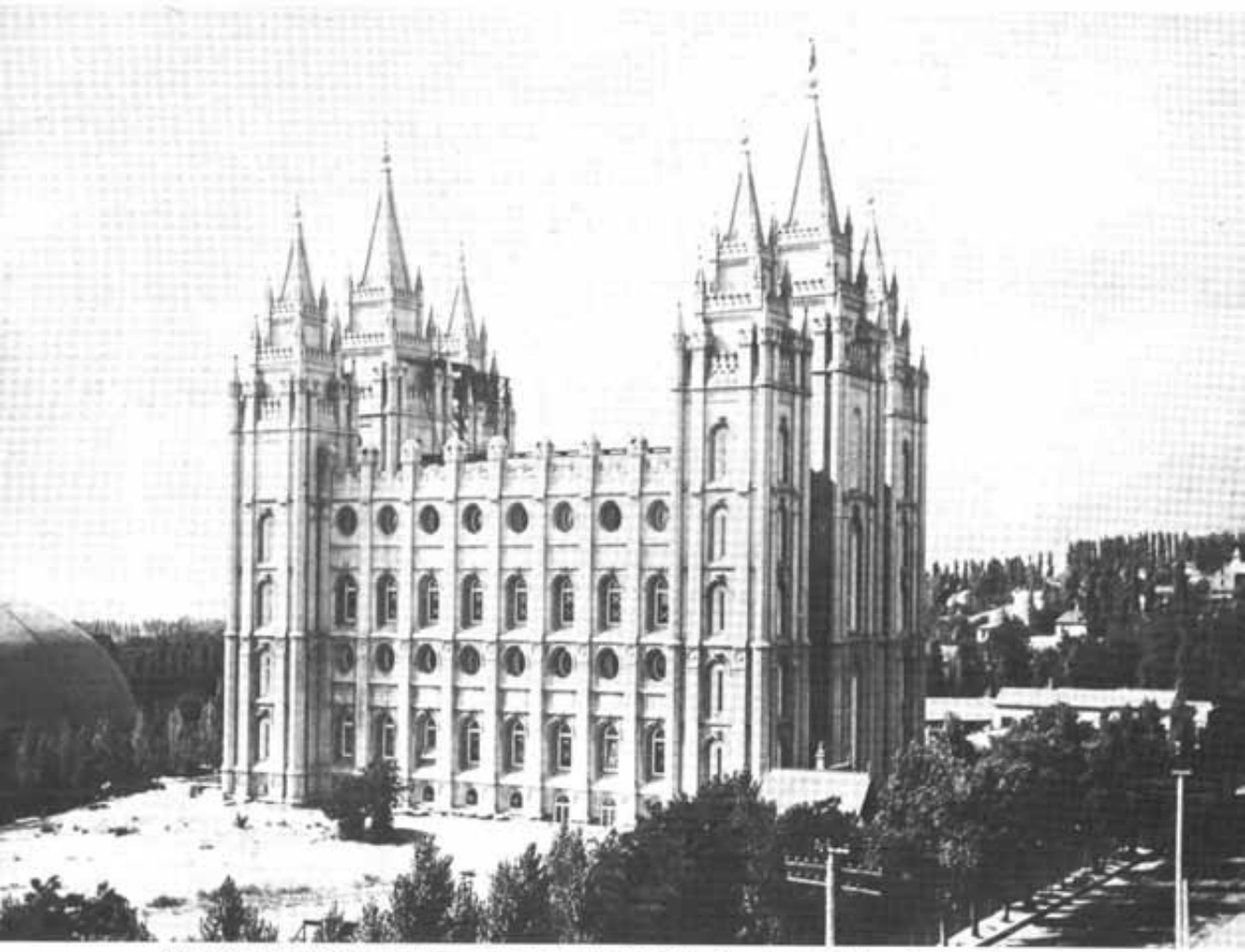
[67] T. L. Kane Diary, 2, March 5, 1858. An undated entry written at Camp Scott a few weeks later alludes to his unsuccessful effort to maintain a testimony of Christianity: "I am evidently the child of a more heathen day than my dear wife and the saintly to whom her life most naturally belongs. But, in my coarser way—while I am for God's sake spending my time among rude risks, I think I lift my heart as high to heaven as theirs." See also Kane to "Dearest, my own Bessie," March 24, 1858, Kane Papers, BYU, box 3, fd. 5.

[68] Winther, *The Private Papers*, p. 77.

[69] Ibid., p. 79.

The "St. Peter's of the New World": The Salt Lake Temple, Tourism, and a New Image for Utah

BY M. GUY BISHOP AND
RICHARD NEITZEL HOLZAPFEL



This Charles R. Savage photograph shows the Salt Lake Temple in 1892 as it neared completion. Construction began on April 6, 1853, and after forty years of labor Mormons dedicated the temple on April 6, 1893. USHS collections.

REGARDING THE APRIL 1893 DEDICATION OF THE Mormon temple at Salt Lake City, the *Chicago Tribune* observed that "the building was worth a trip across the continent" to see and that it justly deserved the title "St. Peter's of the New World."[1] St. Peter's Basilica, designed by Michelangelo and constructed during the sixteenth century, is known as one of the world's great architectural marvels. Mormon architect Truman O. Angell, who helped make Brigham Young's vision a reality, was heavily influenced by the Romanesque and Gothic styles of architecture.

St. Peter's Basilica, Rome, ca. 1892. Courtesy of the Keystone-Mast Collection, California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside.

It is fairly certain that the Salt Lake Temple's multiple spires were intended to give the building an appearance reminiscent of the Gothic cathedrals of Europe that Brigham Young so admired.[2] Possibly wishing to expose Angell to such cathedrals, Young sent the forty-five-year-old architect on a mission to Europe in the mid-1850s. "You will wonder at the works of the ancients and marvel to see what they have done," he told Angell.[3]

Undoubtedly both men would have rejoiced in the *Chicago Tribune*'s description of the Salt Lake Temple if they had lived to see their work completed. Using words fairly dripping with hyperbole, the *Tribune*'s writer reported the new temple to be "ablaze with splendor." It was estimated that over the fifteen days of dedicatory ceremonies "at least 75,000 of the faithful" were in attendance. Of equal significance,

Dr. Bishop, formerly with the History Division of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, lives in Whittier, California. Mr. Holzapfel teaches at the LDS church's Irvine Institute of Religion, Irvine, California.

[1] *Chicago Tribune*, April 7, 1893.

[2] Paul L. Anderson, "Truman O. Angell: Architect and Saint," *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Ut.: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1988), pp. 147, 150.

[3] Quoted in ibid., p. 153.

500 of Salt Lake City's gentile or non-Mormon residents also viewed the interior of the temple "by special invitation."[4]

At services, which the reporter found to be "long but simple and impressive," a dedicatory prayer was repeated daily by church president Wilford Woodruff. According to this report, Woodruff carefully blessed "the entire edifice, including each pane of glass and the innumerable parts that make up the whole." This having been done, the Salt Lake Temple was consecrated to the Almighty God.[5] Utah's Latter-day Saints, who had only recently suspended their "peculiar institution" of plural marriage, were unaccustomed to receiving such praise from the non-Mormon press.

In actuality, church leaders were quite unprepared for the interest non-Mormons had in the structure. Shortly after the cornerstone-laying ceremonies in 1853 tourists visited the site.[6] Then, as the building neared completion, an avalanche of visitors ascended "to the top of the main tower, which commands a splendid view of the valley and the lake." To control relic seekers who were "attempting to chip off pieces of the structure" and to prevent individuals from "scratching their names on the edifice," Mormon officials issued special tickets.[7]

Despite such problems, church leaders took every opportunity to personally escort prominent visitors to the site. Andrew Carnegie, the famous Iron Baron, and Andrew Dickson White, the former president of Cornell University and current president of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and their wives were among the notables escorted to the temple just before the capstone-laying celebration in 1892. Harvard University president William Elliot had been given a tour of the tower a few days earlier.[8]

Historian Thomas G. Alexander has identified several areas in which the Mormon public relations effort of the period between the 1890s and the 1930s was focused. From the late 1890s until about 1904 church leaders, he states, "showed increasing concern about how the Mormons looked to others."[9] Church promotion of the com-

[4] *Chicago Tribune*, April 7, 1893.

[5] Ibid.

[6] See Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, *Every Stone a Sermon: The Magnificent Story of the Construction and Dedication of the Salt Lake Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1992), pp. 24–26.

[7] *Deseret Evening News*, April 11, 1892.

[8] Holzapfel, *Every Stone*, pp. 39, 41.

[9] Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 239. Also helpful in understanding Latter-day Saint public relations concerns during this period is Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

Harper's Weekly, *July 11, 1857, featured this illustrated article about Salt Lake City and the proposed Mormon temple. Courtesy of Greg Christofferson, Irvine, California.*

pleted Salt Lake Temple in 1893 fit within this increased public relations effort.

Unique circumstances related to travel and tourism came together in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. The nation was linked by rail in 1869, making fast, comfortable travel beyond the Rocky Mountains a reality for the first time in the country's history. Each decade following the end of the Civil War saw more families with leisure time and money for travel. By the 1890s tourism had moved beyond America's elite to encompass the middle class as well. The burgeoning tourist industry drew much of its lifeblood from the American West, which attracted visitors from the East, the Midwest, and even from Europe, with images, real or imagined, of sights they had never before seen.[10] Such circumstances made Salt Lake City, with its newly constructed Mormon temple, a place that America's nascent tourist industry capitalized upon.

Tourism is a significant way in which modern people access their world. As a form of leisure activity it takes many forms. A recent anthropological study identified several forms tourist attractions may assume. *Ethnic tourism*, marketed to the public in terms of the "quaint" customs and often "exotic" practices of indigenous peoples, has long attracted some tourists. *Cultural tourism*, offering a touch of "local color," quickly became a strong marketing point for the American West. Another model, *historical tourism*, with its emphasis upon the glories of the past (i.e., the museum-cathedral circuit) is best facilitated when the targets are readily accessible and cost-effective to the tourist. And finally, *environmental tourism*, often ancillary to ethnic tourism, is based primarily upon geographical location and remoteness of the destination.[11]

With the coming of the railroad and the completion of the Salt Lake Temple it is plain to see that Utah in general and particularly Salt Lake City measured up in each of these four areas. It was peopled by a "quaint" group with a reputation for exotic practices. It also offered local color. The St. Peter's of the New World and the transportation revolution brought about by the railroad certainly helped this

[10] See, for example, Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (1957; reprint ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), pp. 112–15; and John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 209.

[11] See John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), p. xi; Valene L. Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp. 4–5.

target fit well into the historical tourism model. And Utah's geographical location, then as well as now, places it well within the parameters sought by the environmental tourist.

In addressing a related subject, cultural nationalism, to the development of national parks in the United States, Alfred Runte has noted the American orientation toward monumentalism. Time and again travel writers in the United States contrasted the cultural monoliths of Europe with comparable sights in America. In Runte's study these imposing monuments were the natural wonders of the West, such as Yosemite and Yellowstone.[12] As of 1893 Salt Lake City's Mormon temple, "the St. Peter's of the New World," could be added to this list. And just as the railroads had marketed western national parks, in 1893 the Union Pacific began offering the Mormon temple in Salt Lake City as a tourist attraction as well.

Westbound rail travelers reveled in the spectacular scenery of the Rocky Mountains, some even booking a side trip to Yellowstone National Park. The wonders of the unknown, or at least little understood, Mormon culture of Salt Lake City regularly attracted inquisitive visitors such as the English adventurer Richard F. Burton who, by the forms of tourism mentioned above, must qualify as one of Utah's first ethnic tourists.[13] As historian Anne Farrar Hyde has noted, "If the Rockies did not meet all of the qualifications for beautiful and exciting scenery, the wonders of Salt Lake City more than made up for them."[14]

Rail tourists were offered a plethora of promotional material in the form of guidebooks meant to enhance their expectation. Railroad promoters did everything in their power to place within the public mind the hope of seeing the unfamiliar and the monumental in the American West, presenting in word and picture a skillfully crafted vision that primed the travelers with hopes of sights never before seen. Often the railroads underwrote the cost of privately published tourist books as well.[15] Publicists successfully joined in the promotional hoopla by relating the rampant and well known rumors about Mormon

[12] See Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), chaps. 1 and 2.

[13] See Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints, and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (London, 1861).

[14] Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820–1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), pp. 113–14.

[15] Ibid., p. 107; Robert G. Waite, "Over the Ranges to the Golden Gate: Tourist Guides to the West, 1880–1920," *Journal of the West* 31 (April 1992): 103–13.

Grant Brothers Stages brought visitors to the temple block ca. 1886 to see, explore, and take a small piece of granite stone as a memento of their tour of the Mormon temple then under construction. Courtesy of the Charles Ellis Johnson Collection. Photo Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo.

society, thus making Salt Lake City an even more inviting tourist stop. Following the completion of the Mormon temple in 1893 this attraction was magnified even further.

In 1877 a guidebook entitled *The Pacific Tourist* tentatively considered the expected temple. While offering no written observations, possibly because construction was not far advanced at the time, it printed an amazingly accurate artistic rendering of the planned temple and noted with restrained praise the accomplishments of Utah's society while at the same time looking rather askance at Mormon theology.[16]

Eleven years later, in 1888—still five years before its completion—William H. Thayer, clearly an advocate of American monumentalism, wrote of the Mormon edifice, "The Temple is a mammoth structure." After giving the dimensions of its foundation (99 x 186 1/2 feet), he marveled that the three towers on each end of the building "are very graceful and ornamental." When completed, Thayer judged, it will be

[16] *The Pacific Tourist: Williams' Illustrated Trans-Continental Guide of Travel, From the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean* (New York: Henry T. Williams, Publisher, 1877), p. 135.

Visitors atop the temple scaffolding, ca. 1892. USHS collections.

one of the most "remarkable" buildings on this continent.[17] Indeed, such a structure might well come to be called the St. Peter's of the New World.

Western travel literature produced by the railroads always described the attractions of the region in enticing superlatives. In 1885 the Northern Pacific Railroad, which served the Pacific Northwest, printed a guidebook entitled *The Wonderland Route to the Pacific Coast.* Opening with a breath-taking illustration of the Great Falls of the Yellowstone River, the publication boasted, "This is a world of wonders!" The Northern Pacific successfully sold the rugged beauty and romantic past of Montana and northern Idaho. By 1894 travelers to Montana were being told of the area's "stupendous mountain ranges." The Northern Pacific's natural "wonderland" was now romantically joined with historic "Indianland," a safe move since all of the once-threatening natives of Montana had been, for the most part, subjugated by the early 1890s. This booming region, once inhabited by "wild buffaloes

[17] *Marvels of the New West: A Vivid Portrayal of the Stupendous Marvels in the Vast Wonderland West of the Missouri River* (Norwich, Conn.: Henry Bill Publishing Company, 1888), 404–5; for more on Thayer see Waite, "Over the Ranges," p. 112.

and wilder Indians," now was reputed to have "the largest farms in the world, the greatest mines in the world, the noblest forests in the world, and the bravest people in the world."[18]

Before the Mormon temple joined the tourist world, the Union Pacific's main attraction was Yellowstone. Established as a national park on March 1, 1872,[19] Yellowstone, with its many natural wonders, soon captured the imagination of the American touring public. Both the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific competed for Yellowstone's tourist trade. In 1884 the UP explored the possibility of running a branch line directly into Yellowstone Park from the south but decided against it for financial reasons.[20] Since the company's involvement with Zion and Bryce Canyon in southern Utah lay more than thirty years in the future,[21] it is easy to imagine the excitement a marketable attraction like the new Mormon temple must have generated among Union Pacific publicists.

Just four years before the 1893 temple dedication Union Pacific published a booklet that emphasized Salt Lake City's future tourist potential. "The fame of this city and its Mormon institutions has gone abroad into the four quarters of the globe," the advertising piece noted, "but its wonderful attractions for the tourist and the health and pleasure seeker, with its unlimited resources, are destined to give it a wider and more enduring fame in the near future."[22] It seems likely that the completion of the temple was among the events that "in the near future" would give Salt Lake City "a wider and more enduring fame."

An intimate link between the Salt Lake Temple and the full Union Pacific agenda for promoting western tourism was clearly shown by its 1893 promotional literature highlighting the dedication of the Mormon structure. An advertisement within the complimentary souvenir booklet printed by the railroad promoted the temple as just one of many tourist attractions along the "World's Pictorial Line."

[18] [Northern Pacific Railroad], *The Wonderland Route to the Pacific Coast* (St. Paul: Northern Pacific Railroad, 1885); Olin D. Wheeler, *Indianland and Wonderland* (St. Paul: Northern Pacific Railroad, 1894), p. 9; copies of these publications may be seen in the library of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming.

[19] Runte, *National Parks*, pp. 46–47.

[20] Maury Klein, *Union Pacific: The Birth of a Railroad, 1862–1893* (New York: Doubleday, 1987), p. 523.

[21] Angus M. Woodbury, "A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (1944): 197–98. Zion National Park was created in 1919 and Bryce Canyon in 1928.

[22] [Union Pacific Railroad] *Western Resorts for Health & Pleasure 1889* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1889), p. 99; a copy is in the possession of Greg Christofferson, Irvine, California.

In anticipation of the temple dedication the Union Pacific published a twenty-four-page booklet announcing the event and advertising the railroad's passenger routes to Salt Lake City. Courtesy of Greg Christofferson, Irvine, California.

Also listed among other "spectacular" sights to be seen by UP travelers were Yellowstone National Park, Colorado Springs, and the Garden of the Gods.[23]

Much of the information contained in the UP's souvenir booklet also appears in *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Salt Lake Temple*, printed by the Salt Lake City publishing firm of George Q. Cannon & Sons, heralding the temple's dedication.[24] The similarities found in the UP booklet and the Cannon production seem more than coincidental.

It is highly likely that D. E. Burley, the UP station agent in Salt Lake City, whose name and title appear on the cover of the railroad's souvenir, collaborated with Cannon or one of his employees or directly with the church leadership. (George Q. Cannon was a counselor

[23] [Union Pacific Railroad] *Dedication of the Mormon Temple* (Omaha: Union Pacific Railroad Company, 1893); a copy is in the possession of Greg Christofferson.

[24] *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Salt Lake Temple from April 6, 1853 to April 6, 1893 [with] Other Temples of the Saints* (Salt Lake City: Geo. Q. Cannon & Sons Co., 1893).

to President Wilford Woodruff in the presiding triumvirate of the LDS Church in 1893.) In any case the stamp of the Mormon hierarchy is evident in each publication. So, not only was the Union Pacific interested in the magnificent new Salt Lake Temple for promotional purposes, but, it would seem, the LDS leadership also realized that the value of the edifice might extend beyond the holy rites to be performed there.

As the *Chicago Tribune* noted, 75,000 faithful Mormons as well as an uncounted number of gentiles visited the new temple in 1893. Although it is a common practice in the late twentieth century for the

A temple dedication pass for admittance to the afternoon session, April 6, 1893. Courtesy of Greg Christofferson, Irvine, California.

church to allow nonmembers to view the interior of temples just prior to their dedication, that was *not* a standard practice in 1893. Joseph Henry Dean, a lay member of the church noted, "At 5 p.m. the Governor, Judges, lawyers, and [principal] outsiders were permitted to enter and [were] shown all through the building. This was a great surprise to me and most everyone else I suppose."[25] One notable gentile invited to tour the interior of the temple was Charles S. Zane.

Zane had served since the early 1880s as chief justice of the Utah Territorial Supreme Court and had vigorously attacked the legality and social acceptability of Mormon plural marriages. Historian Edward Leo Lyman has labeled Judge Zane's antipolygamy program "extreme."[26] Zane presided over the infamous "raid" that banished many

[25] Entry for April 5, 1893, in Joseph Henry Dean Journals, 1877–1945, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

[26] Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, p. 25. In addition to the information on Zane's career in Utah and his relations with the Latter-day Saints in Lyman's book, see Gustive O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1971). On the antipolygamy "raids" of the 1880s, see Richard Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), chap. 11.

polygamous Mormons to a life on the run or in prison. But in 1893 the Mormon hierarchy was courting his support for Utah statehood.

In what can only be seen as a goodwill, image-enhancing gesture, church leaders sought to transform this one-time foe into an honored guest. "I was invited with a number of other non Mormons [to go] through the new temple. . . . I think this is a wise move on the part of the Mormons," Zane noted. "The refusal heretofore to allow any one except members of their church to look through their temples has had a tendency to create prejudice against them, the chief justice observed."[27] Apparently this public image problem outlined by Zane had also dawned upon the Latter-day Saint leadership by 1893.

The desired positive publicity came quickly from far-flung places. Just one day after the temple's dedication a major southern newspaper noted, "The great new Mormon temple was dedicated" before a "throng of believers." Demonstrating an amazing amount of basic knowledge about LDS beliefs, and without the usual hint of sarcasm, this Tennessee newspaper went on to note, "The belief of the Mormons, or Latter Day Saints [*sic*], as they call themselves, is that without the ordinances and endowments that can be given only in a temple, they cannot obtain complete salvation."[28] Among these vital ordinances was the sealing for eternity, by divine authority, of family relationships, including those of husband and wife, and parents and children. Who in Victorian America, whether finding Latter-day Saint doctrine believable or not, could have faulted such ambitions? The church leadership at Salt Lake City would surely have been pleased to read such positive press.

Elsewhere, the *New York Times* printed the same information as the Chattanooga paper but without any reference to the actual salvation-oriented purposes of the temple. However, this East Coast newspaper, like the *Chicago Tribune*, marveled in the contemporary manner about the temple as a "*significant monument* [italics added] in enduring stone to the power and resistless growth of the Mormon Church."[29] In the West the *Los Angeles Times* noted the "throng of visitors" arriving hourly by train at Salt Lake City. Once again the Mormon church's public relations coup was mentioned: "Hundreds of people, *principally gentiles*, visited the temple [and] were shown

[27] Charles S. Zane Papers, April 4, 1893, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.
[28] *Daily Times* (Chattanooga, Tennessee), April 7, 1893.
[29] *New York Times*, April 7, 1893.

through the various apartments, the splendor and gorgeousness of which was great surprise to all beholders."[30]

Even across the Atlantic Ocean the dedication of the Mormon temple made news. In London *The Times* briefly observed that "Throngs of believers," many of whom had traveled great distances, were in Salt Lake City for the dedication of "the immense Mormon temple."[31] Three weeks later, the *Illustrated London News* printed a photograph of the temple accompanied by a one-column story telling the history of the Mormon church and of the construction of the temple and the nearby tabernacle. In fact, the tabernacle—in a vein similar to that often taken in the late twentieth century—shared the limelight with the temple: "The tabernacle, though of wooden construction, will seat twenty thousand people and contains a very fine organ." The temple, on the other hand, was seen as a "cathedral monument of the Mormon religion."[32]

Surely the 1893 dedication of the Salt Lake Temple ushered in a new era of public relations for Utah and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The temple, and other aspects of Temple Square, were aggressively promoted not only by tourist interests and railroads but also by the Mormon church. Some promotional uses of the Salt Lake Temple by parties outside of the LDS church may seem shocking to present-day Mormons. Around the turn of the century a tobacco company included in its product packaging complimentary cards, similar to baseball cards, featuring "Sights and Scenes of the World." One of these cards portrayed the "Temple at Salt Lake City." However, the LDS health code known as the Word of Wisdom, banning among other things, the use of tobacco products, was only an admonition in the late nineteenth century and did not assume its current status as part of the litmus test for obtaining admission to Mormon temples until 1928.[33]

Mormon attempts to successfully use their temples to promote a positive public image continue in a pattern similar to that initiated a hundred years ago at the April 1893 dedication of the Salt Lake Temple. Presently fourteen LDS temples have visitor centers on their grounds. It is now a common practice to open temples to Mormon

[30] *Los Angeles Times*, April 6, 1893.

[31] *The Times* (London), April 7, 1893.

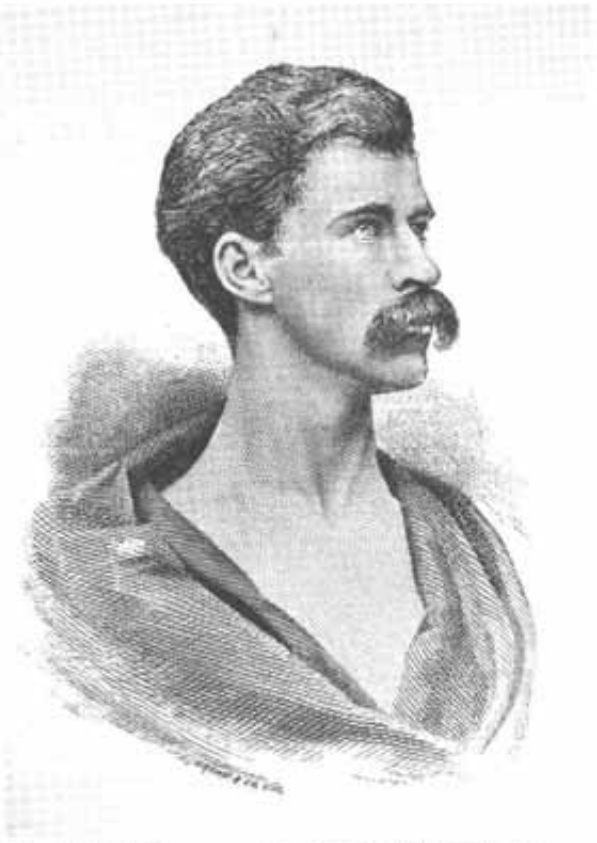
[32] *Illustrated London News*, April 29, 1893.

[33] "The Temple at Salt Lake City" (c. 1895–1900), distributed by Pan Handle Scrap Chewing Tobacco, copy in the possession of Richard Neitzel Holzapfel. Regarding the Word of Wisdom, see Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, p. 265.

Turn-of-the-century tobacco company's complimentary "Sights and Scenes of the World" card featuring the recently completed Mormon temple. Like baseball trading cards of today it contained informative text on the reverse side. Courtesy of Richard Neitzel Holzapfel.

and non-Mormon visitors prior to their dedication. Just as Charles S. Zane observed in 1893, it still seems to be a "wise move" on the part of the Mormons. Over 300,000 visitors toured the Las Vegas Temple prior to its 1989 dedication. The following year 62,000 viewed the interior of the Toronto Temple.[34] The most recent temple open house lasted six weeks (February 20 through April 3, 1993) with an estimated 850,000 visitors touring the newly completed San Diego Temple. Clearly, the 1893 dedication of the Salt Lake Temple, the "St. Peter's of the New World," ushered in a new era for the LDS church in more ways than one. The Salt Lake Temple became the most recognized part of the built environment of Mormonism. In addition, when it was linked with ever-increasing possibilities for tourism and public relations during its dedication in 1893, the enormous success of that event marked a bellwether not only for the image of Mormonism but for Utah tourism as well.

[34] Statistical information on prededication visitation to LDS temples provided by Veneese C. Nelson of the LDS Church Historical Library, Salt Lake City.



Charles W. Hemenway, frontispiece of the book of poetry he wrote at age nineteen. He was almost six feet tall and had a "long and heavy" mustache at seventeen. He wrote that his mind "was quite as precocious as his body."

In and Out of Mormondom: Charles W. Hemenway, Journalist

BY SHERILYN COX BENNION

THE LIFE OF ITINERANT JOURNALIST Charles Willard Hemenway held all the elements of romance fiction: adventure on the high seas, political

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intrigue, young love, legal skulduggery, religious persecution, and early death. A romantic himself, he joined the legions of young men who looked to the West for fame and fortune, finding that a flair for writing and an interest in people and politics were qualities in demand by newspaper publishers.

Every young town wanted a newspaper to demonstrate its stability and to help attract additional settlers, and journalists traveled from one community to another, working a few months here and a year or two there for papers that had openings, seeking to improve their skills and financial positions and perhaps eventually to own papers of their own. They were a staple source of writers and pressmen for both rural and urban papers. Utah had its share of itinerant journalists, and Hemenway spent most of his journalistic career there, editing papers in Ogden and Provo and becoming embroiled in the political and religious conflicts of the territory.

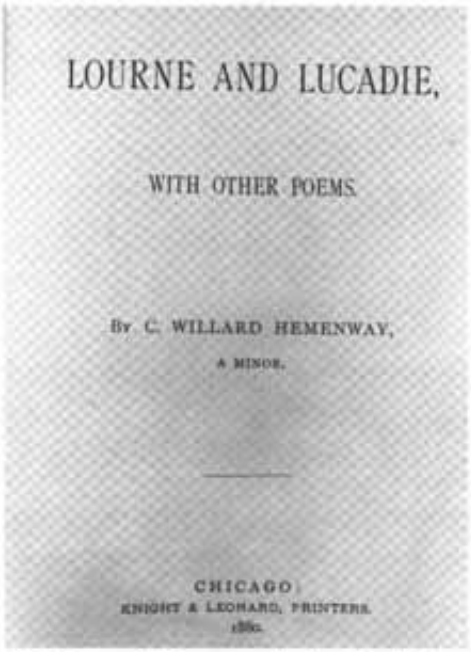
At twenty-six years of age he prepared his *Memoirs*, subtitled *In and Out of Mormondom*, while serving a sentence for libel in the Ogden city jail. He wrote in the third person, referring to himself as "Mr. Hemenway," and provided what is probably an exaggerated account of his adventures. If even half of what he claimed was true, his lively career as a journalist was tame in comparison with what led up to it.

Born in Waukon, Iowa, on March 22, 1860, Hemenway attended school there but cared little for the company of other youngsters, avoiding social activities. As a boy he was sent to Sunday school at the Methodist church, and at nineteen he had never played a game of cards, drunk a drop of "spirituous liquor as a beverage," or visited a saloon, although he no longer attended church. People dubbed him the "old man" because he applied himself to study and business and courted the good opinion, as well as the society, of his "seniors and betters." His first job was in a "general merchandise establishment" where he became chief bookkeeper and cashier in less than three months.[1]

Hemenway began his literary career by publishing a collection of poems called *Lourne and Lucadie* when he was nineteen. He dedicated it to the youth of his native state, noting in the preface that he had been writing in idle moments since his ninth year for his own amusement and that he was "utterly indifferent as to any one's good or bad

[1] Charles W. Hemenway, *Memoirs of My Day: In and Out of Mormondom* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1887), pp. 4–5. Basic information on Hemenway's life up to the time of his imprisonment comes from the *Memoirs*, unless otherwise noted.

opinion."[2] The title poem, he stated, was based on an episode he knew to be true. A fifty-five-page epic about a beautiful woman betrayed by one scoundrel and accused of poisoning and robbing another, it was written in the words of her first love, a young man from the small town that was also the woman's idyllic childhood home. Along with shorter poems of love and tragedy, the book contained several satires on local political and religious notables that caused a considerable stir: "About one half of the residents of his native village were soon about ready to throttle the other half, all because of his little book,"[3] he said.


LOURNE AND LUCADIE,

WITH OTHER POEMS.

By C. WILLARD HEMENWAY,

A MINOR.

CHICAGO:
KNIGHT & LEONARD, PRINTERS.

Title page of Hemenway's first book. In addition to the long title poem it contained shorter lyrics of love and longing and some satires about local dignitaries.

Possibly the reception of his book had something to do with Hemenway's departure for New York in August 1879. He later wrote that he cherished the ambition to become "an immortal of some sort" and decided he would have to leave Iowa to accomplish that goal.[4] Early in 1880 he signed on as a bookkeeper for a Brazilian coffee plantation but discovered on arrival that the position already had been filled. He booked passage back to New Orleans, arriving with only $1.30 in his pocket but managing to sell the manuscript of his diary to a literary agent for $260.

Within a few days he obtained a job looking after cargoes on a ship headed from Corpus Christi, Texas, to Vera Cruz, Mexico. The ship's captain took his wife and two children along, but the couple proved to be on less than amiable terms, and she stabbed him to death after accusing him of infidelity. Then a violent storm sank the ship. Hemenway escaped in a small boat that drifted to shore, and he made his way to Chihuahua where he wrote accounts of his travels through Mexico for newspapers in Chicago and St. Louis. After a jour-

[2] C. Willard Hemenway, *Lourne and Lucadie, with Other Poems* (Chicago: Knight and Leonard, 1880), p. 5.

[3] *Memoirs*, p. 5.

[4] *Memoirs*, pp. 6–7.

ney overland to Guaymas on the Gulf of California he became ill and lay close to death until nursed back to health by the Sisters of Charity.

By February 1881 he was ready to move on, first to San Francisco and then to Australia. During his year there he worked as a mine laborer, stage driver, sheepherder, road builder, sailor, and, finally, newspaper reporter. He returned to San Francisco in July 1882 with 300 pounds of gold, which he promptly lost in various speculative schemes. Borrowing money with the idea of going to work in the Arizona mines, he instead turned to writing, apparently earning enough to repay his creditors even though he was robbed on a trip to Mexico.

Then, back in San Francisco, a man claiming to be an accredited agent of the Hawaiian government approached him to ask if he would be willing to infiltrate the Hawaiian sugar planters' organization and report what it was up to. Americans controlled the sugar industry, the basis of the Hawaiian economy, and as more and more Americans moved to the islands the monarchist government saw Hawaiian culture and the government's very existence threatened. It apparently wanted advance knowledge of the sugar barons' plans. Hemenway found work as a gardener at a sugar plantation on the island of Kauai but soon decided that his employer, although an opponent of the government, had no intention of fomenting a rebellion.

In any event, spying offended his moral sensibilities, and he returned to journalism as a reporter for the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of Honolulu, a government organ owned by adventurer Walter Murray Gibson, sometime Mormon who had managed to be named prime minister of Hawaii. During his months with the *Advertiser*, Hemenway occasionally performed secretarial duties for Gibson as well. In his own words, "The position of reporter, and then the editorship of the official newspaper organ of the Hawaiian government, gave Mr. Hemenway exceptional opportunities, which he diligently improved."[5] One such opportunity was his discovery of a plot to assassinate the Hawaiian king. He told Gibson about it and then, according to his *Memoirs*, persuaded the dissidents to change their minds.

Even the exceptional opportunities in Hawaii could not hold Hemenway; toward the end of 1883 he moved to Oregon. There he taught at a country school for four months before taking over the editorship of the *Daily Talk* of Salem. The "unflagging exertion" required to give the paper "a fresh lease of life" proved too much for his health,

[5] *Memoirs*, p. 100.

and he retired from the editorship in July 1884, traveling through Oregon before landing a job at the *Idaho Statesman* in Boise. He wrote of falling into a "political whirlpool" there, and he resigned at the end of the year.[6]

He explained some of his difficulties two years later when, embroiled in libel suits as editor of the *Ogden Daily Herald*, he published accusations from the *Statesman* that he had been a sort of Mormon spy in disguise who had gone to a local minister with a "long desultory story" about committing a robbery and murder in Texas and had asked for advice about what to do with the $60,000 he had stolen. Hemenway defended himself by explaining that the proprietor of the *Statesman* had asked him to ferret out wrongdoing among leading citizens, including the minister, whom he had approached as part of this mission. He resigned, he continued, when he discovered the unsavory character of the paper and its proprietor.[7]

Ireta Dixon Hemenway, frontispiece of Charles Hemenway's memoirs which he dedicated to her, the Mormon girl he met and married when he moved to Utah as an itinerant journalist in 1885.

Still moving south, Hemenway settled briefly in the small Utah town of Payson. The Mormons there impressed him favorably, especially eighteen-year-old Ireta Dixon whom he met at a church gathering. After it ended, he walked all night to get to Provo so he could find a job, earn some money, and propose marriage to her. The *Provo Enquirer*, a paper owned and operated by Mormons, hired him as an editorial writer, and he "took delight in defending a people whom he knew were often shamefully abused and villainously misrepresented."[8]

After only a few weeks with the Provo paper, Hemenway was offered the editorship of the *Ogden Daily and Semi-weekly Herald*. He moved at the end of March 1885 and introduced himself to his Ogden readers with a measured statement of the qualities he saw as character-

[6] *Memoirs*, pp. 127, 132–33.
[7] "A Nasty Sheet," *Ogden Daily Herald*, May 21, 1886, p. 2.
[8] *Memoirs*, pp. 140–44.

istic of "legitimate journalism," assuring them that he would seek the greatest good for the greatest number. "With an abundant store of generous goodwill toward all and malice toward none, we shall courteously endeavor to express our candid convictions on all passing subjects with unmistakable plainness and a pure, just motive," he wrote.[9]

One source reported that he was baptized a Mormon during his stay in Ogden,[10] although genealogical records show no baptism date. Certainly, he took the Mormons' part, claiming in his *Memoirs* that within five months of his arrival "the anti-Mormons of Ogden were somewhat demoralized, and did not hesitate to threaten his life, and even attempt to assault him at his place of residence and upon the highways."[11] Some of them carried their assaults to the courts, courts run by federal appointees instructed to prosecute Mormons practicing polygamy. The Edmunds Act, passed by Congress in 1882, had made unlawful cohabitation a crime and disqualified polygamists from voting, holding office, or serving on juries.

As a defender of the Mormons, Hemenway vigorously condemned their foes. In Ogden, a railroad center where non-Mormons made up a sizable minority of the population, this raised more hackles than it might have done in a more solidly Mormon community. A federal grand jury returned indictments accusing the editor of three counts of libel. The first grew out of an editorial suggesting that the United States prosecuting attorney, the United States commissioner, and other federal officers were pooling their fees. The second concerned the foreman of the jury, Gen. Nathan Kimball, about whom Hemenway had written, "his character is that of a blowhard and a bilk, and he is not fit to be trusted with any position of responsibility, for his impecunious condition renders him susceptible to corruption, and his violent malice can be indulged in with impunity. . . ."[12] The third resulted from Hemenway's accusation that Utah's chief justice, Charles S. Zane, had rendered a crooked decision.

Such name calling characterized much nineteenth-century journalism. Editors often used their papers as personal platforms, taking strong stands and lambasting their opponents with all the verbal ammunition they could muster. Historian J. Cecil Alter's perusal of newspapers from that era convinced him that Utah editors excelled in

[9] "Legitimate Journalism," *Ogden Daily Herald*, March 23, 1885, p. 2.
[10] John C. Graham, "Judged by His Record," *Utah Enquirer*, July 23, 1889, p. 2.
[11] *Memoirs*, p. 145.
[12] Quoted in "Libel," *Ogden Daily Herald*, June 4, 1885, p. 3.

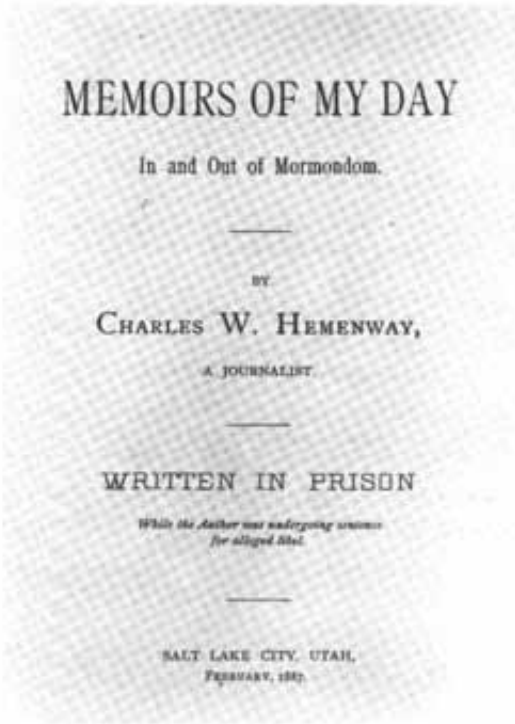
vituperation, and he subtitled his book, *Early Utah Journalism*, "A half century of forensic warfare, waged by the West's most militant Press." If not actually the most militant, Utah's papers certainly could have held their own in any mudslinging competition.

When his case came to trial Hemenway decided to conduct his own defense, explaining that he regretted his hasty statement about Kimball and that when he accused Zane of a crooked decision he meant only that the decision had been rendered in accordance with a crooked law. The local judge, unsympathetic to this interpretation, levied a $200 fine plus court costs and a suspended jail sentence. The fine and costs were paid by public contributions ranging from 10 cents to $10 and "coming from all classes of people . . . who looked upon the editor as the innocent victim of circumstances."[13]

Hemenway was not far from the truth in his assertion that under the same strict interpretation of the law "every other newspaper editor in the territory could be convicted."[14] As an example of unpunished libel he might have cited an editorial about his case from the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune* that said Hemenway had revealed himself as a cur so dirty that to place him in the society of prisoners guilty merely of robbery, bigamy, or larceny would be an insult to them. It also speculated that, rather than having had a human mother, Hemenway had been "dropped in an egg in the sand by some reptile and hatched by the east wind." He was "a mental and moral deformity, so much so that when we compare him to a reptile or to the spawn of a devil-fish, we feel like making an abject apology to the saurian and to the octopus."[15]

Dissatisfied with the outcome of the first legal action the editor's foes got his case reopened in July 1886, and Hemenway was called before the court to show cause why he should not be sentenced to jail. As his final official act Judge Orlando W. Powers sentenced the editor to a year in the Weber County jail for libeling Zane and added a $500 fine for his comments about Kimball. This occurred shortly after Hemenway reported rumors that Powers was on the way out but that he might be replaced by someone equally prejudiced against the Mormons, adding, "Powers is very obnoxious, but at the same time his abilities are limited and he cannot do as much subtle injury to the people as an abler man might."[16] Bidding farewell to his readers,

[13] *Memoirs*, p. 161.
[14] *Memoirs*, p. 157.
[15] "A Necessary Scheme," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 19, 1885, p. 2.
[16] "Who?" *Ogden Daily Herald*, July 13, 1886, p. 2.



MEMOIRS OF MY DAY

In and Out of Mormondom.

BY

CHARLES W. HEMENWAY,

A JOURNALIST.

WRITTEN IN PRISON

While the Author was undergoing sentence for alleged libel.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH,
FEBRUARY, 1887.

Title page of Hemenway's memoirs, written during a three-month jail stay in Ogden.

Hemenway noted one main regret, that he would be unable to do more for the people of Utah whom he had learned to love. He was sure, however, that he would emerge from prison "a stronger, braver, wiser man, better qualified for an editor, more serviceable as a friend and more invincible in just enmity."[17] J. Cecil Alter wrote that Hemenway's plight was reported at length in Utah's newspapers, "mostly with a friendly or sympathetic feeling; though a few anti-Mormon editors thought he got his just desserts."[18]

In the meantime, perhaps partly because of its controversial editor, the *Herald* had prospered, and Hemenway had continued his courtship of Ireta Dixon. They had been married in September, 1885. Family tradition has it that Hemenway was a fast-talking opportunist who persuaded his bride's father to give him her hand as a prelude to seeking financial support of proposed journalistic ventures and that she spent most of her wedding day crying in her room.[19]

In any event, Hemenway dedicated his *Memoirs* to his new wife and used her portrait as the frontispiece of the book. The dedication sounds sincere: "To his well-beloved and ever amiable wife, Ireta, this venture of his pen is affectionately inscribed as a slight token of his gratitude for her comforting kindness, and in commemoration of her perfect fidelity and happy courage in the hour of cruel trial. . . ." Writing his *Memoirs* was only one of the tasks to which Hemenway set himself during his three months in jail. He also wrote essays defending the Mormons; sketches of territorial leaders, mostly Mormon; and numerous letters. One of these, addressed to Charles S. Zane, asked for a recommendation of pardon, reminding the chief justice that

[17] "Good Bye," *Ogden Daily Herald*, July 30, 1886, p. 2.

[18] J. Cecil Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1938), p. 153.

[19] Letter from Madoline Dixon Huseby, April 2, 1984.

Hemenway had simply printed what he had been told in good faith and without malice, not being acquainted with those about whom he wrote, and that Zane had not even initiated the suit. He also pointed out that he could not support his wife and child from prison. The couple's daughter must have been born only a short time earlier.

Zane complied with Hemenway's request, and Gov. Caleb W. West pardoned him. A *Deseret News* editorial commended this act of executive clemency but added, "Mr. Hemenway's style is perhaps a little extreme. That fault, in our opinion is exhibited as much in his apologies as in his assaults."[20]

No record exists of Hemenway's activities during 1887 and 1888, but a newspaper comment indicated he left Utah after his release from prison.[21] Frank J. Cannon, son of George Q. Cannon of the Mormon church's First Presidency, succeeded him at the *Herald*. Cannon had worked previously for the *Deseret News*, the *Ogden Junction*, and the *Logan Leader*. Utahns later elected him to the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate. He left politics—and the Mormon church—but continued writing editorials for the *Salt Lake Tribune* and founded another paper in Ogden, finally moving to Denver to edit the *Rocky Mountain News*.

Early in 1889 Charles and Ireta Hemenway bought the *Provo American*, a two-year-old paper that the rival *Enquirer*, Hemenway's former employer, had characterized as "bitterly anti-Mormon,"[22] and changed its name to the *Utah Valley Gazette*. The Dixon Publishing Company, with Ireta Dixon Hemenway's father as president, financed the venture, and the paper listed her as editor, under her maiden name. However, it appears from comments in both the *Gazette* and other papers that Hemenway was responsible for the paper's editorial stance and the bulk of its content. After October 3, 1890, he was listed as editor.

The Hemenways stepped into a political scene still dominated by "the Mormon question" and marked by bitter campaigns for influence. Twenty years earlier non-Mormons in Utah had organized the Liberal party. Dissident Mormons joined them to oppose the church-controlled People's party. Liberals thwarted early attempts to establish the traditional Democratic and Republican parties and also opposed statehood, fearing Mormon control. The church, unwilling to make concessions on polygamy or disengage from domination of internal

[20] "A Proper Subject of Executive Clemency," *Deseret News Weekly*, November 24, 1886, p. 6.
[21] Graham, "Judged by His Record."
[22] Alter, *Early Utah Journalism*, p. 208.

politics, stalled later conciliation moves. In 1887 the Edmunds-Tucker Act disfranchised Mormon women and compelled men to promise to obey the Edmunds Act before they could register to vote. As a result, the Liberal party won commanding victories in population centers in 1889. Finally, in September 1890, a year and a half after the Hemenways started their paper, Mormon church president Wilford Woodruff issued the Manifesto, advising church members to submit to the law of the land by refraining from the practice of polygamy. All this became grist for journalistic mills.

The *Utah Valley Gazette* consisted of four pages of seven columns each. Advertising occupied twelve of the twenty-eight columns, a healthy proportion. Subscription price was $2 a year, or $1.50 if paid in advance. Content, typical of small-town weeklies of the time, included coverage of local political party activities, court proceedings, and city council meetings, as well as church and civic gatherings in Provo and surrounding communities. Each town had its own column for news notes and boosting. In fact, boosting of state, county, and towns was a major preoccupation of the *Gazette*—and most other western newspapers of the period. In one issue the *Gazette* used a four-part headline for a story about Utah County: "The Fairest Realm, Where Human Life is Lengthened Longest Out, Paradise to Live In, The Portion of Utah Best Adopted to Health, Comfort, Pleasure, Long Life and Prosperity."[23] Sometimes the paper mixed short commercial notices with news briefs. It also used syndicated material, and page two always carried at least one editorial.

Almost from the *Gazette*'s inception, it hinted at controversies and complaints, and these soon became explicit. For example, in the issue of July 5, 1889, Hemenway disagreed with *Enquirer* editor John C. Graham's contention that "bathing resorts and out-of-the-way places for moonlight dancing are not fit places for parents to allow their children to attend." Hemenway maintained that "when properly managed and well guarded, bathing resorts are proper places for young men and ladies to congregate for purposes of recreation and amusement." Another editorial suggested that the Mormon cooperative establishments in Utah had come to be dominated by the rich and powerful to the detriment of the poor, and one referred to a "doubtful move" by editor Graham at the People's party convention.[24] Graham was not

[23] April 25, 1890, p. 5.

[24] "Another View," "The Survival of the Fittest," and "A Doubtful View," *Utah Valley Gazette*, July 5, 1889, p. 2.

only an editor and politician, having served on the Provo City Council, but an actor and public speaker famed throughout the territory and a businessman with interests in banking and merchandising, so Hemenway risked making a formidable enemy.

Indeed, the rivalry between the two editors and their papers escalated rapidly. Shortly after Hemenway's criticism of Graham's politics, the latter ran a rare signed editorial in which he accused his rival of trying "the arts of blandishment, of which he is a past master, upon a fairly wealthy, unsuspicious father-in-law, and the *Utah Valley Gazette* is the result."[25] Perhaps such suggestions contributed to the Dixon family's negative view of Hemenway. The *Enquirer* soon began referring to the *Gazette* as the *Guzzle* or "the tramp's sheet" and to its office as "the little board shanty near the depot."

Hemenway had asserted that the *Gazette* would be militantly independent. As its militancy quickly increased, its editor insisted that this was the result of false accusations and underhanded attacks by his erstwhile employers who appeared to be "multiplying petty aggrievances until we should be harassed into a condition of despair and be driven in sheer desperation to pursue a radical course of opposition which appears to be desired by a monopolistic competition."[26] Still maintaining that he was on the side of the Mormons, he asked, "Does anyone think that *The Gazette* is an enemy to the religion and cause of the Mormons simply because it speaks against abuses that tend to stultify that cause? Can anyone be so foolish as to suppose that it is a pleasant duty for us to fight the evils that mar the cause we love and the brethren we hope to rescue from the damnation that awaits them if they continue to abuse their positions as Latter-day Saints?"[27]

That question, with its implication that the brethren needed rescue from damnation, might be seen as a point of no return. Later editorials could be cited to support the characterization of Hemenway by his other former employer, the *Ogden Herald*, as "the acknowledged grand master" of "impudence, egotism and insult," this stated in a condemnation of the "weak and cowardly ploy of Hemenway's to place the name of a lady at the head of the editorial columns." Hemenway responded that he had announced in the paper a year earlier that he was entirely responsible for anything of an editorial kind. He attributed this latest slander to the Ogden editor's desire to dis-

[25] Graham, "Judged by His Record."

[26] "Independence," *Utah Valley Gazette*, August 30, 1889, p. 2.

[27] "Who's on the Lord's Side?" *Utah Valley Gazette*, November 29, 1889, p. 2.

credit him because he might make public the outrageous treatment he had suffered at the hands of the *Herald* editor and his cohorts, who had passed lies to him and then left him to bear the consequences.[28]

Enquirer editor Graham was on the receiving end of much of the *Gazette*'s invective. Hemenway advised him to "go back to the files of your paper and from what you have published in years past, in violation of all principles either of Mormonism or common truth, discover your true self depicted in the slime of the trail of vilification and falsehood which you have left behind."[29] At various times Hemenway called Graham an "egotistical ninny," the "impotent old ring imbecile," a "vile bully," a "dirty liar," and a "filthy scavenger."[30] In taking the *Enquirer* to task for predicting the *Gazette*'s demise, Hemenway chided it for "claiming to be the exclusive local organ of the Mormon Church and as if such an insult to the holy cause of religion were not infamous enough its agent went around menacing people with a forfeiture of their standing in the church if they did not subscribe for it, to get its billingsgate by the year."[31]

Of course, the *Enquirer* replied in kind, referring to Hemenway as "the pimp of a sheet called the Gazette" and chiding him for criticizing Provo Stake president A. O. Smoot, who had also been president of the Enquirer Company and was one of the most powerful political and religious leaders in Utah County. The editorial reminded Hemenway that Smoot had given him his start in Utah and quoted Hemenway's inscription on a book (probably his *Memoirs*) presented to the stake presidency in which he called himself a tramp they befriended and expressed gratitude for their help. It continued, "After having fed this tramp when he was hungry, clothed him when naked, he, like a cur that snaps at the hand that fed it, has turned to repeatedly abusing his kind benefactors, and has heaped upon them the most vile calumniations."[32] Graham might also have mentioned the favorable description of Smoot in Hemenway's *Memoirs*, which called him an "astute, careful business man" whose judgment was "always eminently practical and generally sound."[33]

Thus the *Enquirer* did its best to hasten the early demise it had

[28] "Fearing Retribution," *Utah Valley Gazette*, June 20, 1890, p. 2.

[29] "Peace Perturbed Spirit," *Utah Valley Gazette*, November 8, 1889, p. 2.

[30] Included in editorials of March 28, April 4, and April 18, 1890.

[31] "A Beautiful Farce," *Utah Valley Gazette*, November 8, 1889, p. 3.

[32] "City and County Jottings" and "Gratitude of a Tramp," *Daily Enquirer*, March 22, 1890, p. 4, and May 3, 1890, p. 2.

[33] *Memoirs*, p. 215.

predicted for the *Gazette*. During 1890, at the same time the *Gazette* boasted a larger circulation than all other Utah County papers combined and claimed substantial advertising gains, the *Enquirer* published reports of rumors that Hemenway was looking for someone to buy his paper. Hemenway countered by announcing plans—never realized—to publish three times a week, in preparation for eventual conversion of the *Gazette* to a daily.

Little evidence remained by this time of the sense of humor that Hemenway had displayed earlier in the conflict with Graham, when he apologized for mistakes in spelling and grammar, a common source of derision by the *Enquirer*, and provided a catalog of a weekly newspaper editor's duties as his defense:

> . . . All an editor has to do is to hunt news, and clean the rollers, and set type, and sweep the floor and pen short items, and fold papers, and write wrappers, and mail papers and talk to visitors, and distribute type and saw wood and read proofs, and correct mistakes, and hunt the shears to write editorials, and dodge bills, and dun the delinquents, and take cussings from the whole force, and tell our subscribers we need money.
>
> We say we've no business to make mistakes while attending these little matters, and getting our living on gopher-tail soup, flavored with imagination, and wearing old shoes and no collars, and a patch on our pants, obliged to turn a smiling countenance to the man who tells us our paper isn't worth $1, anyhow, and that he could make a better one with his eyes shut.[34]

Finally, in December 1890 Hemenway admitted that he had thought about selling but said he had changed his mind, not because of a lack of eager buyers but because he had become convinced that the paper had just begun to fulfill its mission. Another change of mind must have occurred shortly thereafter, because in January 1891 he announced that the *Gazette* had been sold to James H. Wallis, publisher of the *Nephi Ensign* and former associate editor of the *Enquirer*. Hemenway thanked "the public which has patronized our enterprise so liberally" but offered no explanation for the sale,[35] and the *Gazette* joined the populous ranks of Utah papers that were born, struggled—or sometimes flourished—briefly, and expired.

On January 19, the *Enquirer* printed a notice that "*The Dispatch* is the name of a semi-weekly that has arisen on the ash pile of the de-

[34] "An Editor's Duty," *Utah Valley Gazette*, December 5, 1889, p. 4.

[35] "The Change," *Utah Valley Gazette*, January 9, 1891, p. 2.

funct *Gazette*."[36] This paper, too, was short-lived. The *Enquirer* purchased its plant in 1895, and Wallis moved on, eventually establishing a successful family publishing business in Uintah County.

Sometime after their sale of the *Gazette* the Hemenways moved to San Francisco where Charles "was engaged on the Chronicle." When he returned to his parents' home in Payson in 1897, at the age of thirty-seven, he was close to death. Final references to him in the Utah press took the form of obituaries. The *Payson Globe* noted that he died October 4 of consumption. "He came here from California a few weeks ago," the obituary stated, "knowing his days on earth were numbered and that he had but a short time to live." His daughter had come with him, but his wife had remained in San Francisco. "She was telegraphed for, but no word was received from her," the *Globe* stated.[37] Hemenway's erstwhile antagonist, the *Enquirer*, gave him three sentences: "C. W. Hemenway, the publisher of the defunct *Utah Valley Gazette*, died at Payson Monday of consumption. His wife in California has been notified. Since leaving Utah, Hemenway was engaged in various pursuits, one of which was lecturing against the Mormons."[38]

And so the life of this itinerant journalist ended. Unique in its particulars, and doubtless more flamboyant than the average, it was typical in the search for opportunity and the willingness to follow wherever it might beckon. The question of whether Hemenway was an honest idealist who became disillusioned when confronted with the realities of human nature under stress or a duplicitous seeker after the main chance remains, and it probably is unanswerable. Certainly Utah in the 1880s was a treacherous place for a young journalist trying to maneuver unscathed through its maze of religious and political conflicts. One of Hemenway's own poems makes a better epitaph for him than the obituaries quoted above:

Ye gods who guard my Star of Fate!
  Try me in storm and fire;
And if I cannot live elate
And win the nobler grand estate,
  Let me in youth expire![39]

[36] "City and County Jottings," *Daily Enquirer*, January 19, 1891, p. 4.
[37] Obituary notice, *Payson Globe*, October 9, 1897, p. 3.
[38] "General Jottings," *Daily Enquirer*, October 5, 1897, p. 4.
[39] *Memoirs*, p. 9.

Charles C. Goodwin. Goodwin Papers, Special Collections, Library, University of Nevada, Reno.

C. C. Goodwin and the Taming of the *Tribune*

BY JAMES W. HULSE

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CHARLES C. GOODWIN WAS ONE OF THE MOST colorful and controversial of Utah's journalists during the countdown to statehood a century ago. His career embraced both the western and eastern edges of the Great Basin and more than fifty years—from the era of the Civil War until World War I. He played active roles in the histories of both Nevada and Utah and with two of the most influential newspapers of the inland West—Virginia City's *Territorial Enterprise* and the *Salt Lake Tribune*—during their most controversial periods.

Born near Rochester, New York, on April 4, 1832, Goodwin joined the westward movement when he was twenty years old, traveling first to California by way of Panama in 1852. During his first few years there he tried his hand as a lawyer (trained in his brother's California office), a teacher at Marysville Academy, a miner, a quartz mill operator, a businessman, and as an aspiring politician, poet, and orator. His primary role in the history of both Utah and Nevada was as a controversial journalist. He died in Salt Lake City on August 25, 1917, in his eighty-sixth year.[1]

EARLY CAREER IN NEVADA, 1860–80

Goodwin arrived in the Washoe mining districts in 1860 when that region was still part of Utah Territory and its mines were just being opened. During his first twelve years in Nevada he continued to be a drifter both professionally and physically. He served a brief term as a territorial probate judge and started his newspaper career with the short-lived *Washoe Times* in 1863 but had a tenure of less than a month as editor.[2] In the first state election after Nevada was admitted to the Union in 1864, he won office as a district court judge in Washoe County and served during 1865–66. (For the remainder of his life he was commonly identified in the press as "Judge Goodwin.") He followed the mining boom to the White Pine region of eastern Nevada and to Eureka in central Nevada in the late 1860s and then returned for a short time to California.

[1] Six boxes of the Goodwin family papers have been acquired by the Special Collections Department of the University of Nevada, Reno, Library. Most of the documents deal with the latter part of C. C. Goodwin's career when he was in Utah. See Charles C. Goodwin Papers, #85–6. A biography embracing the first half of Goodwin's life appears in [Myron Angel], *History of Nevada, 1881, with Illustrations* (1881; reprint ed., Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958), p. 321. Another account of Goodwin's early life appears in *The Journals of Alfred Doten: 1849–1903,* ed. Walter Van Tilburg Clark III (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973), p. 2228. His obituary in the *Salt Lake Tribune* appeared on August 26, 1917.

[2] [Angel], *History of Nevada,* p. 328. Richard E. Lingenfelter and Karen Rix Gash, *The Newspapers of Nevada: A History and Bibliography, 1854–1979* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1984), pp. 275–76.

Alice Maynard Goodwin, wife of Charles C. Goodwin, was an active club woman and writer of poetry in Salt Lake City. Goodwin Papers, Special Collections, Library, University of Nevada, Reno.

In 1873 Goodwin joined the staff of the *Territorial Enterprise*, Nevada's foremost newspaper, which had operated in Virginia City from the earliest days of the boom on the Comstock Lode. For many years after 1874 the staunchly Republican paper was owned by William Sharon, the ruthless agent of the Bank of California, who sought to exercise total control over the economic and political affairs of Nevada. Goodwin was editor of the *Enterprise* for most of the time between November 1875 and 1880 when he left to join the staff of the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

Drawn to politics from an early point in his career in Nevada, Goodwin sought election to Congress on the Republican ticket in 1872 but lost by 700 votes—a substantial majority—to Charles Kendall, a popular Democrat, while other Republicans were winning the race for presidential electors by more than 2,000 votes (out of about 15,000 ballots cast).

During his time with the *Territorial Enterprise*, it was the instrument of the powerful Bank of California political machine, and Goodwin was one of its functionaries. The owner, Sharon, managed to win a seat as U.S. senator from Nevada in the 1875 session of the state legislature by spending money freely in the legislative elections, and the *Enterprise* was an important tool in his political efforts. Rollin M. Daggett, Goodwin's closest associate on the paper, successfully ran for the House of Representatives in 1878.[3] Goodwin was thus closely associated with successful politicians but never managed to win high office himself.

The most important political battle in which Goodwin participated in Nevada involved the election of the governor in 1878. The incumbent, L. R. Bradley, was an Elko cattleman and a Democrat who

[3] Francis Phelps Weisenburger, *Idol of the West: The Fabulous Career of Rollin Mallory Daggett* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1965), pp. 61–66.

tried to enforce laws regarding taxes on the proceeds of mines. In doing so he ran afoul of the large Comstock mining companies who decided to remove him from office when he sought reelection in 1878. Goodwin and the *Enterprise* led the journalistic assault against Bradley and did much to wreck the governor's reputation. He lost the election to a candidate more acceptable to the mining interests and died soon thereafter.[4] Many years later, Goodwin expressed regret at the bitterness of this fight.

In 1877–78 Virginia City and its neighbor Gold Hill were the most productive mining towns in the Far West, and Goodwin's reputation prospered with the region. During those years, however, the ore bodies of the Big Bonanza were exhausted, and the towns of the Comstock began the rapid decline from which they never recovered. The *Enterprise* also languished. In May 1880, soon after his forty-eighth birthday, Goodwin moved to Salt Lake City and began his twenty-one-year tenure with the *Tribune*.

He had expressed an interest in Salt Lake City during his earliest years in Nevada. In an address delivered to the Washoe City Lyceum and Lecture Association in February 1865 he made a complimentary reference to that community and its apparent prosperity. Nevada had been granted statehood about three months earlier, and Goodwin had recently been elected district judge for Washoe County; yet at one point in his address he said: "And let us for a moment take a bird's-eye view of what our new state is. Nearly an hundred thousand square miles of territory. Much of it barren, but still possessing thousands upon thousands of fertile acres just as that which makes Salt Lake City seem like enchanted land to the weary emigrant; just the same, except the one is cultivated, the other is left in native barbarism."[5]

The depression in the Nevada mining industry in the late 1870s was obviously a factor in Goodwin's decision to move to Utah Territory. In 1880 the population of the Comstock towns had declined to about 16,000, and all of Nevada had only 64,000 people. Salt Lake County, on the other hand, counted nearly 32,000 residents in the 1880 census, and Utah Territory had more than 143,000. Moreover, Goodwin was convinced that Utah had mineral resources that could be promoted and developed.

[4] Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada*, 2d ed. rev. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), pp. 155–57.

[5] *Washoe Weekly Times*, February 18, 1865.

The Tribune Years

When Goodwin's association with The *Tribune* began, the newspaper already had behind it twelve years of tumultuous history. Founded by the apostate Mormon William S. Godbe and his associates Edward W. Tullidge, John Tullidge, and E. L. T. Harrison, it had been established in 1871 to challenge the economic and journalistic domination of Utah society by Brigham Young, the LDS church, and the *Deseret News*. Its primary goal had been to stimulate business—particularly mining activities—in Utah Territory in opposition to the Mormon leadership, which had traditionally opposed the development of gold and silver mines.[6] It evolved into a periodical dedicated to an "irrepressible conflict" between the gentiles and the Mormons, especially on the issues of polygamy and statehood.[7]

The *Tribune* announced the arrival of Goodwin in terms that represented him as not only a respected authority on mining but also as a leader who had somehow contributed to the prosperity of that industry in Nevada and whose presence in Utah could be expected to stimulate its success there. Its editorial page said on May 23, 1880:

> To-morrow Mr. C. C. Goodwin, formerly of the Virginia *Enterprise*, connects himself with *The Tribune* editorial staff. While congratulating ourselves upon the accession of one whose abilities as a trenchant and accomplished writer are conceded, we also congratulate our readers, who will enjoy in the future the results of his busy pen. Mr. Goodwin has been on the Coast for years, enjoys a popularity second to none in his profession, has helped to build up the great mining interests of the Coast, and with his settling down in Zion as a home, not alone the progress of Liberalism and the mining industries, but the welfare of the entire Territory will be advanced. His coming to this field of labor is, we trust, but a signal of an exodus of Nevada miners soon to pour into our mining camps and bring Utah her rightful position as a mineral producing region.[8]

The *Tribune*'s reputation as an advocate of the Utah mining industry undoubtedly made it attractive to Goodwin, and he did not shrink from the anti-Mormon business sentiments that its founders and owners had promoted. Two days after he joined the staff the

[6] This early history of the *Tribune* and its predecessor the *Utah Magazine* has been well described in O. N. Malmquist, *The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871–1971* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1971). The survey of Utah and Mormon history in Leonard Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 353–412, remains indispensable.

[7] An excellent description of the struggle over statehood is Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

[8] Quoted in Malmquist, *The First 100 Years*, pp. 56–57.

newspaper adopted a new editorial policy that had been standard practice among most Nevada dailies and weeklies. He announced that a collection of reports would be published every Sunday about the condition of the mines of Utah and southern Idaho, with information on ore production, new explorations and developments, and statements from the superintendents.[9] He suggested that such a policy would be beneficial to all companies and would serve to make their resources better known. Many of the first issues of the *Tribune* carried reminiscences and comparisons based on his experience with Nevada and California mining operations.

In Nevada Goodwin had been allied with the most powerful men and the most influential journal in the state. In Utah the *Tribune* was the weaker, anti-establishment periodical, overshadowed by the church-run *Deseret News*, and its prospects for survival were far from certain in 1880. In short order Goodwin took a forward position in the conflicts of the day. The journalistic battles that he fought in Utah must have made his Nevada conflicts appear by comparison to be minor skirmishes, because there was a much broader spectrum of social issues pending in the Mormon country.

He reached Utah when the controversy over the practice of polygamy among the Latter-day Saints was at a fever pitch. In the previous year the U.S. Supreme Court had issued its decision in *Reynolds* v. *United States*, ruling that the practice of plural marriage could properly be defined as a criminal offense and was not entitled to the constitutional protection of religious freedom.[10] The determination of church leaders on religious grounds to continue the practice enraged the gentile population and reinforced the hostility between Mormons and non-Mormons. Goodwin became one of the most prolific and inflammatory editorial writers in the non-Mormon press on this subject.

Goodwin did not confine his controversial journalistic activities to the *Tribune*. Within eighteen months of his arrival in Utah he published articles in eastern periodicals that represented the "Mormon menace" as a threat to the national welfare. These essays manifested not only Goodwin's rhetorical skill but also the widespread national interest in the polygamy question, and they obviously intensified the hostilities in Utah.

The first of these articles appeared in the *North American Review*

[9] *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 26, 1880.

[10] *Reynolds* v. *United States*, 98 U.S. 145.

in March 1881, which suggests that Goodwin must have begun collecting material for it soon after his arrival in Salt Lake City less than a year earlier.[11] He described the LDS faith as "a deadly menace to free government" and castigated church leaders who regularly defied federal law in the name of their religious creed. The movement was spreading beyond Utah with dangerous rapidity, and the church was reinforcing the "ignorant masses in Utah" with thousands of converts from abroad. The followers were sincere, but the leaders were engaged in a great fraud, which a federal commission should be established to expose and suppress. He particularly warned against granting statehood to Utah on the Mormons' terms: "Were it to suit some political party to give Statehood to Utah, every Gentile would be forced to move away; the mines would be taxed so that it would be impossible to work them, and nothing else would remain. The Mormons have shown their eagerness to do this already." Goodwin predicted that if the movement were allowed to develop for another fifteen years "nothing less than an exhaustive civil war will suffice to overcome this open enemy of republican government."[12]

Such alarmist propaganda was nothing new for Utah and the Mormons, of course, but Goodwin played on memories of the recent Civil War and significantly added to his own reputation with such pronouncements. In October of the same year (1881) he published another article in the prestigious *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, distributing much the same message.[13] Again he foresaw the threat of widespread civil strife and directed some of his bitterest language against the polygamists: ". . . This thing called the Mormon Church is revealing a record as dark as that of the Thugs, reducing woman to the condition she occupied before the Savior's teachings emancipated her, offering the reward that Mohammed offered to men's lusts, debasing the tender and plastic minds of childhood. . . ."[14] Once more he warned against the continuing expansion of the church by the immigration of foreigners and emphasized the dangers to the nation of the challenge to its authority. These themes ran through much of Goodwin's editorial prose in the *Tribune* with dogged regularity, and he undoubtedly had an impact well beyond Utah Territory.

[11] C. C. Goodwin, "The Political Attitude of the Mormons," *North American Review* (New York), pp. 132, 276–86.

[12] Ibid.

[13] "The Mormon Situation," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 63 (October 1881): 756–63.

[14] Ibid, p. 756.

The paper was the main banner of the Liberal party, which was the political organization of the active anti-church movement and the rival of the much larger pro-Mormon People's party. When Congress passed the Edmunds Act (1882), which contained sweeping proposals aimed at disfranchising polygamists and putting the political affairs of Utah Territory under the control of a special presidential commission, this naturally intensified the hostility between the *Tribune* and the Mormons. Goodwin recommended his personal friend (later his business partner) Patrick Lannan to be a member of the Utah Commission and wrote to Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field to seek his support for Lannan and another prominent anti-Mormon, Joseph B. Rosoborough.[15]

The owners of the *Tribune* when Goodwin arrived were Fred Lockley, George F. Prescott, and A. M. Hamilton, all of whom had come from Kansas in the early 1870s and who were known as the "border ruffians" for their abusive journalistic style. In 1883 Goodwin and Lannan purchased the *Tribune* from Lockley and his partners with the assistance of a $60,000 loan from John W. Mackay, the former Comstock millionaire.[16]

The bitter conflict continued in Utah without letup for several years and led to the passage of the Tucker amendment to the Edmunds Act in 1887 and subsequent efforts by the federal government to seize the assets of the church. In that year there were hints that the *Tribune* was becoming more inclined to reach some kind of accommodation with the LDS community. O. N. Malmquist, the *Tribune*'s historian, noticed the beginnings of a "springtime of reconciliation," and it reappeared occasionally in the following two or three years.[17] Clearly, Goodwin recognized the fact that the federal "raids" organized under the Edmunds-Tucker Act to enforce the antipolygamy laws and to cripple the economic power of the church were also hurting the economic prospects of the entire territory.

On April 10, 1890, Goodwin circulated a prospectus for a history of Utah, announcing his intention to write a "fair and truthful" account of the territory's first forty years. This announcement included testimonials from many prominent political and social figures, including former governor Caleb W. West, Gov. Arthur L. Thomas, Chief Justice Charles S. Zane, U.S. attorney Charles Varian, Mayor George

[15] Goodwin Papers, Correspondence, 1863–1894, 85/6/1/1.

[16] Malmquist, *The First 100 Years*, p. 74.

[17] Ibid., p. 125.

M. Scott, and several other prominent individuals. "How extensive the work will be I cannot yet determine," Goodwin wrote. "I trust enough to include all important facts, not enough to exhaust the patience of generous readers."[18]

Various manuscript units in the Goodwin papers at the University of Nevada appear to be rough drafts of chapters for this history, but since they are not dated and only roughly labeled it is not certain that they were written for this purpose. One unit of about twenty-five pages describes the activities of the Liberal party in the 1889 municipal election in Salt Lake City when for the first time the anti-Mormon faction took control of city government.[19] Goodwin seems to have regarded this as a turning point in the history of the territory and of Mormon-gentile relations.

When the Woodruff Manifesto was issued in the fall of 1890, calling on Latter-day Saints to abandon polygamy and obey the law of the land, the *Tribune* viewed the announcement with suspicion at first, questioning its meaning and import because it was not a categorical change of doctrine but seemed to be only advice from the church president. In addition, it first became known not from church headquarters but through an Associated Press dispatch from Chicago.[20] A few days later, however, when Woodruff made his formal statement to a church conference in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, the *Tribune*'s tone changed markedly, and the spark of reconciliation was fanned once more.

Coincidentally, Goodwin made another of his bids for public office at this time, seeking election in 1890 as territorial delegate to Congress on the Liberal ticket. The columns of the *Tribune* were laden with his propaganda, much of it designed to show Goodwin as one who had the interests of all Utahns at heart. He engaged a special train to carry "Goodwin's Pilgrims" throughout Utah in late October to promote his candidacy. The objective was to cover 800 miles in seven days and to rally support across the territory.[21] John T. Caine, the Mormon incumbent, had an overwhelming advantage as the eventual election results showed. On the day after the election, the columns of the *Tribune* explained that too many gentiles had stayed away from the polls or had been unable to register in time for the

[18] Goodwin Papers, 86/5.

[19] "Chapter V," Goodwin Papers, 85–6/3/26. See also Malmquist, *The First 100 Years*, p. 125*ff*.

[20] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 2, 1890.

[21] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 25, 1890.

Tribune Building at 133 South West Temple was the newspaper's headquarters during part of the Goodwin era. USHS collections.

election. Goodwin had, however, made an energetic effort to present himself to the LDS population as a moderate.

Over the course of the next year Goodwin and the *Tribune*'s attitude changed in an important way and split the ranks of the Liberals. Goodwin became convinced that the decision by the church leadership to abandon the policy of plural marriage was genuine in most cases and that statehood was now desirable. He participated in the Mormon-gentile effort to win presidential amnesty for those who ceased the practice of polygamy, and he joined with Mormon leaders in opposing a home rule measure pending in Congress because they believed it would delay Utah's admission to the Union.[22] The path of reconciliation was not always straight and smooth, but it proceeded generally toward its goal during the 1890s.

Gradually, Goodwin won the respect of the Mormons, even though his paper frequently continued to criticize the church and some of its policies, especially in political matters. Mormon historian Orson F. Whitney noted in his multivolume survey of 1893:

> A great change, and one decidedly for the better, came over the *Tribune* when Mr. Lockley and his associates severed their connection with it. . . . Today, though fighting Mormonism as fiercely and sometimes as unfairly as ever, the *Tribune* is much more conservative than it once was, and does not admit into its columns the filthy scandals that disgraced it formerly. Much of this gratifying reform is probably due to the presence on its staff of Judge C. C. Goodwin, the editor-in-chief, a brilliant journalist, and one of national repute. He is a native of the State of New York but came to Utah from Nevada in 1880. The *Tribune* is a very influential journal, and unquestionably a bright and breezy

[22] Lyman, *Political Deliverance*, pp. 190, 193.

> newspaper. It has been from the first an organ of the Liberal Party, and is a leading authority on mining matters throughout the interior West.[23]

Goodwin and the *Tribune* became strong supporters of Utah statehood, and the prolific editor played an increasingly prominent role in territorial affairs through the middle 1890s. He was elected a delegate to the 1895 convention that drafted the constitution that became effective upon the granting of statehood on January 4, 1896. He could never have been chosen as a delegate from Salt Lake City unless he had received some Mormon Republican votes.[24] The newspaper joined in the jubilant celebration when admission to the Union was announced.

Goodwin immediately thereafter worked behind the scenes to win one of the U.S. Senate seats that the new state legislature was entitled to fill. His personal papers suggest that, since there was a gentlemen's agreement that one of the seats would be filled by a Mormon and the other by a non-Mormon, he would be the logical choice for the latter office. The *Tribune* vigorously opposed the suggestion that the venerable Mormon leader George Q. Cannon should be elected from the LDS community and supported his son Frank J. Cannon instead. When the latter was elected, the *Tribune* warmly approved. On the other hand, Goodwin's candidacy was not taken seriously by any significant number of the Republican majority in the legislature, and they proceeded to select Arthur J. Brown, a long-time Republican leader and attorney of whom Goodwin disapproved. Goodwin was obviously embittered, in part because his followers apparently made a tactical error by supporting Brown on the first ballot in the expectation that he could not win.[25] When Brown got enough votes on the first ballot to become senator, Goodwin lost his last chance at high political office.

Another issue that brought Goodwin's politics much nearer to the Mormon majority in the mid-1890s was the monetary question. In the famous "Battle of the Standards" he was a silverite bimetallist like most Utahns of all persuasions, and his paper was on the majority side in Utah when voters participated in their first presidential election in 1896. The *Tribune* encouraged Silver Republicans to support William Jennings Bryan against the "gold bug" William McKinley, but it urged support for the Republican ticket otherwise.

[23] Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1893), 2:383.

[24] Malmquist, *The First 100 Years*, pp. 161–62.

[25] Ibid., pp. 168–70.

C. C. Goodwin and his family lived in this house at 450 East South Temple (demolished). Goodwin Papers, Special Collections, Library, University of Nevada Reno.

Goodwin's last five years as owner and editor of the *Tribune* were less eventful than the first fifteen had been. Although he was occasionally suspicious about the intentions and actions of the Mormon church leadership, his editorial rhetoric was generally much more subdued. In 1900 he published another nationally circulated article

about the church and its leaders, this one in *Munsey's Magazine*. It reflected a much calmer view of the practices and beliefs of the Mormons and lacked those shrill warnings about the danger to American values. He still expressed much skepticism about the background and claims of Joseph Smith and the tactics of Brigham Young—whom he compared with the tsar of Russia—and he revived the old issues of the Godbeite Movement and the Mountain Meadow Massacre. On the other hand, the article reflects a warm respect for the dedication and endurance of the Mormon people whom he no longer regarded as mere slaves or pawns of their leaders. Goodwin obviously had developed some admiration for the church's leaders, such as Presidents Wilford Woodruff and Lorenzo Snow, and he spoke respectfully of the participation of young Mormon men in politics, the achievements of some Mormon politicians, the beauty of the Temple, and the high quality of the Tabernacle Choir.[26]

In the fall of 1901 Goodwin and Lannan sold the *Tribune*. Only one of the new owners, Perry S. Heath, was immediately identified. Later it became known that the purchasers were backed by and affiliated with Thomas Kearns, the mining magnate from Park City who had been elected U.S. senator from Utah the previous January. Goodwin and Kearns had once been friends and had served together in the 1895 Constitutional Convention, but Goodwin became convinced that Kearns had made an unsavory deal with the Mormons to win his senate seat.[27] Rumors had circulated earlier in the year that Kearns might be interested in purchasing the paper, yet it is doubtful that Goodwin knew when the *Tribune* changed hands that Kearns was behind the purchase.

In his last issue as owner of the *Tribune*, Goodwin penned a farewell editorial comment in which he paid his respects to Joseph F. Smith, the newly sustained president of the church, who had always held the "trust and affection of the very best men and women among the Latter-day Saints. He was hot-tempered and passion tossed in the old days, but experience has much changed him."[28] (Such remarks, of course, might have been applied to Goodwin himself with some justice.) The *Tribune* wished increasing prosperity, progress, and tranquility for him and his people.

[26] C. C. Goodwin, "The Truth about the Mormons," *Munsey's Magazine* 23 (June 1900): 310–25.
[27] Malmquist, *The First 100 Years*, pp. 184–90.
[28] *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 18, 1901.

Two months before Goodwin left the *Tribune*, one issue contained an expansive spread that paid high tribute to him as a wise and noble editor who had been wrongly denied his rightful place in high public office. Entitled "The Record of a Great Editor," it was attributed to "Fitz-Mac" of the *Colorado Springs Gazette* and covered three-fourths of a page.[29] It compared Goodwin with the famous Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* who had dedicated his paper to "liberty and truth and reason" and who had died of disappointment because he had not been elected president of the United States. According to Fitz-Mac, "Goodwin at 69 (he was born in 1832) still goes daily to his editorial desk with a firm step and a brave front, but the dullest eye may perceive that the mournful pall of a lost hope hangs heavy upon his proud heart." Fitz-Mac asserted that Goodwin was more entitled than any other man to have been one of Utah's first United States senators because of his leadership against the "abhorrent barbarism of the Mormon church," but his chances were slain not by the Mormons but by his own friends. He felt severe bitterness, disappointment, and grief. In this rendition of history Goodwin was the most effective force in recent Utah history; he had "wrought a revolution in Utah without shedding one drop of blood or destroying one dollar's worth of property." The venerable editor of the *Tribune*—Fitz-Mac called him "this grand old Nestor of the profession"—obviously approved of these sentiments or they would not have appeared within its pages, but one paragraph strikes the contemporary reader as being especially apt: "In the old days of the long Mormon fight Judge Goodwin's editorials were justly open to the charge of monotony. They all read like decrees from the bench. They were elegant, they were powerful, they were penetrating and conclusive, but they were monotonous."[30] Fitz-Mac went on to propose an effusive, saccharine epitaph for his Nestor that would have made any moderately modest man blush. But Goodwin was not sufficiently endowed with modesty to edit the outpouring.

The Last Years

After Goodwin sold the *Tribune* and surrendered its editorial page he made his peace with Kearns and divided his energies for a number of years between the *Salt Lake Telegram* and *Goodwin's Weekly*.

[29] *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 18, 1901. The article appeared in the *Colorado Springs Gazette* on August 11, 1901.

[30] Ibid.

The latter was an illustrated magazine published in partnership with his son James T. Goodwin after 1902. It was an ambitious periodical that sought to develop and serve a cosmopolitan regional audience as well as a cultured clientele in Utah with interpretive essays on world, national, and local news; gossip; reports on the local theater and the arts; western mining and economic information; local society; and other matters. There were normally 16 to 24 folio pages, but the Christmas issues at times expanded to 90 or more pages. The volume of text and advertising that appeared in its pages was formidable; and although the Goodwins did not write it all, the editorial and design work was obviously a demanding task. The elder Goodwin was still producing copy for it in his final year of life. He continued to deliver occasional orations and also produced an outpouring of rhymed verse, quantities of which may be found in his papers. Several of his admirers said he worked incessantly.

It is not easy to get behind the public image Goodwin erected to the inner person. His papers contain almost nothing about or belonging to his wife, Alice Maynard Goodwin of Carson City whom he married in San Francisco in 1877. A stray clipping or two identifies her as a prominent social figure of Salt Lake City with literary talents; the personal scrapbook that she kept contains the same kind of obituary natter and verse that her husband favored. They had two children, James, who was born in Nevada, and a daughter, Alice E. Goodwin, who was born in Salt Lake City. She married L. L. Savage in a prominent wedding in Salt Lake City in 1906.

Readers find little wit or humor in Goodwin's writings. He obviously took himself very seriously. Most photographs of him in his personal papers show him carefully posed in a posture that might be characterized as judicial or official. The passions that lurked in his nature were hidden from the camera.

Goodwin published four small books during his lifetime, three of them reminiscences that he prepared while living in Salt Lake City.[31] One, produced near his eightieth year, is *As I Remember Them*, a cluster of loosely knit, rambling profiles of people whom he had known in his younger days in California, Nevada, and Utah. He apparently did not trouble himself to do much research or editing but tapped his reservoir of memory and offered sentimental anecdotes about some no-

[31] The four are: *Poems* (Marysville, Calif.: Herald Office, 1857); *The Comstock Club* (Salt Lake City: Tribune, 1891); *The Wedge of Gold* (Salt Lake City: Tribune, 1893); and *As I Remember Them* (Salt Lake City: Commercial Club, 1913).

table personalities he had known. Some of the profiles he composed were of individuals that he could not have known very well.

The leading interpreter of the history of the foreign-born population of Nevada, Wilbur S. Shepperson, found Goodwin's sentimental portraits badly flawed because he "refused to see the immigrant tide which had rolled across the Comstock." His emotional patriotism blinded him to the fact that many of those who built the society of the Far West had come from abroad. "Seldom has human reaction been less objective and human judgment more defective than in the romanticized memoirs and reminiscences of Charles C. Goodwin's *As I Remember Them* (1913)," Shepperson wrote.[32]

On the other hand, Goodwin's fellow journalists were inclined to accord him high praise for his industry and generosity. Wells Drury, who knew Goodwin in Nevada and kept in touch with his activities in Utah, wrote:

> Charles C. Goodwin, journalist, jurist, poet sage—all these titles are due the man whose pen was dipped in sunshine and whose heart contained the quality which turned all experiences to good. . . .
>
> I do not think my statement can be challenged when I say that Charlie Goodwin wrote more editorial matter in his lifetime than any other editor in the United States. For over half a century, on the Comstock and later in Salt Lake City as editor of the *Tribune*, his was a steady output. When in harness he seemed to have no idea for anything but work. He wanted no days off, cared for no vacations, but kept up the same steady unfaltering pace, until past 80.[33]

The highest tribute paid to Goodwin by a prominent literary critic was that extended to him by Bernard DeVoto in his 1932 study of Mark Twain and his environments. DeVoto, who in his youth had spent some time around the Salt Lake City newspapers, wrote:

> This is as good a place as any to express, besides my sense of the value of Judge Goodwin's books, my immediate indebtedness to them. I have freely used all three of them. . . . When I first went to work on a Western newspaper, late afternoons in the office were sometimes made memorable by the presence of a white-haired gentleman who smoked stogies and reanimated the West for our young glamour. Literature has heard nothing of this frontier editor; the West, which is undiscovered by literature, will not forget a career of brilliant and daring controversy. . . . The forces of the developing West were titanic; their story remains

[32] Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970), p. 81.

[33] Wells Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock Lode* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1948), pp. 186–87.

> untold. When polite literature at last discovers it, this man's courage and leadership will belatedly have their due. . . .[34]

DeVoto may have allowed his youthful admiration of Goodwin's personality to get the better of his literary judgment.

As Goodwin grew older he repeatedly poured his affection for Salt Lake City and the surrounding region into his prose. His rhetoric had always been vigorous and expansive, and this attribute did not diminish as the years passed. He compared the history of Salt Lake City to that of Paris and concluded that the former had already seen more progress in its first half-century than the latter had witnessed in its first 200 years.[35] In an article entitled "Repeat the Ancient Splendors" he invited the readers of *Goodwin's Weekly* to reflect on the glories of Athens as they built their own metropolis:

Charles C. Goodwin in his later years. Goodwin Papers, Special Collections, Library, University of Nevada, Reno.

> Men of Salt Lake, this is as fair a site for a city as was that of Athens; a city is to be built here. How many builders are to fix their names and work in such a way that when seventy-five more generations of men shall have lived and died they will still be remembered and their names lovingly recalled?[36]

Many of Goodwin's associates and friends reached the summits of political power and prominence in both Nevada and Utah, and he believed he was as worthy of high office as any other man of his era. Yet judging from the samples of his intellectual and political work that survive in his papers or that can be gleaned from the avalanche of his work, the products of his pen were more ornamental than substantial.

[34] Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain's America* (Cambridge, Mass: Riverside Press, Houghton Mifflin, 1932), p. 135.

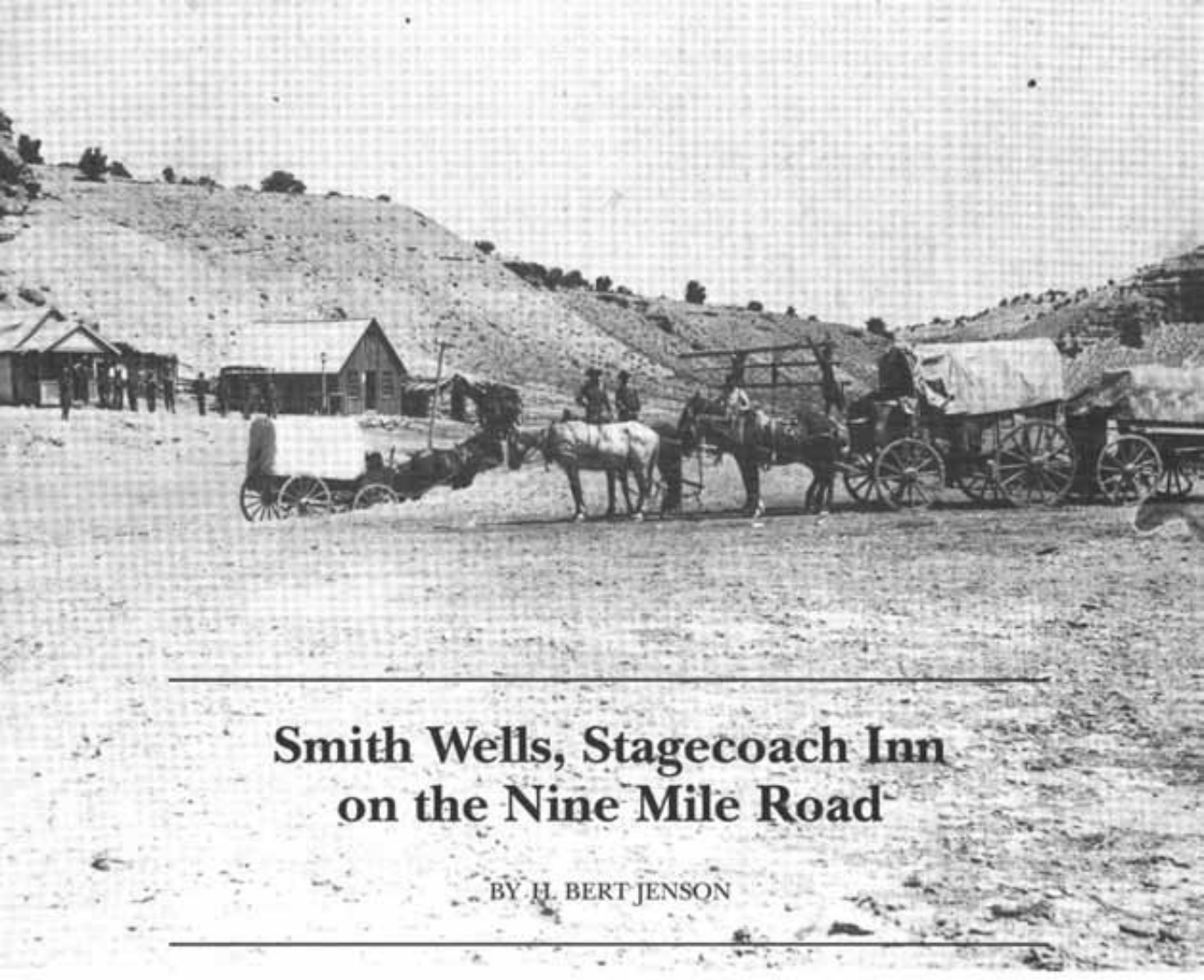
[35] *Goodwin's Weekly*, March 16, 1907.

[36] *Goodwin's Weekly*, April 27, 1907.

He would have liked to represent the cause of western silver mining and "Americanism" in the halls of Congress; but the West had no shortage of men of that persuasion, and there is no reason to believe that he would have been any more effective than those who won the prizes.

In the final analysis, we may say that Goodwin was a significant figure in the "irrepressible conflict" between Mormons and gentiles and in the eventual abatement of the hostilities between the two communities. He arrived in Utah Territory during the period when antagonism between the church and its rivals was most intense, and for the first several years his prose and political activity served to enflame the conflict. He was a passionate man who could wield a wicked pen, and he was convinced that he was fighting for an "American" cause in the midst of people who were enthralled by an alien ideology. Gradually, however, he modified his attitudes and perhaps became both an instrument and an example of the accommodation between the rivals. In his last fifteen years or so of journalistic activity—and he wrote regularly until a few months before his death—the outbursts of anti-Mormon passion became less frequent. He could still be aroused when he suspected church leaders of meddling inappropriately in politics, but the vitriolic tone of his earlier years was much diminished.

Was DeVoto right? Is there still an American man of letters to be discovered in the volumes of his prose and poetry that lie yet undiscovered in his papers? DeVoto may have admired Goodwin more as the legendary figure he presented himself to be than for any literary qualities he displayed. It seems most doubtful that any literary treasures remain hidden among the Goodwin memorabilia, but that must be left for others to decide.



Smith Wells, Stagecoach Inn on the Nine Mile Road

BY H. BERT JENSON

Smith Wells. USHS collections.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the forging furnaces of western expansionism had wrought a tough breed of pioneers who were making their way into the Uinta Basin of eastern Utah. As early as October 3, 1861, the date President Lincoln established the Uintah Indian Reservation in that area, some white settlers were circumscribed by reservation boundaries. Other whites followed to establish trading posts among the Utes and to perform government service in connection with the newly named Indian lands.[1]

By 1879 most all *Utah* Utes had been forced from their traditional homes and were living on the Uintah Reservation. Following the Meeker incident that same year, the White River Utes of north-

Mr. Jenson, a life-long resident of the Basin, is associate librarian and local historian for Utah State University's Uintah Basin Education Center.

[1] Newell C. Remington, "History of the Gilsonite Industry" (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1959), p. 27; and Sarah Marimon Coe, "U.S. Licensed Indian Trader," *True West*, June 1979, pp. 4–45.

western Colorado were also relocated to the Uinta Basin. Their southern Colorado neighbors, the Uncompahgre, although nonparticipants in the Meeker tragedy, were arbitrarily sucked into the vortex of consequences rising out of that foray. Federal officials moved them into the Uinta Basin as well, placing them on the newly created Uncompahgre Reservation. Even then, neither reservation was free from trespass; encroachment by whites was relentless.

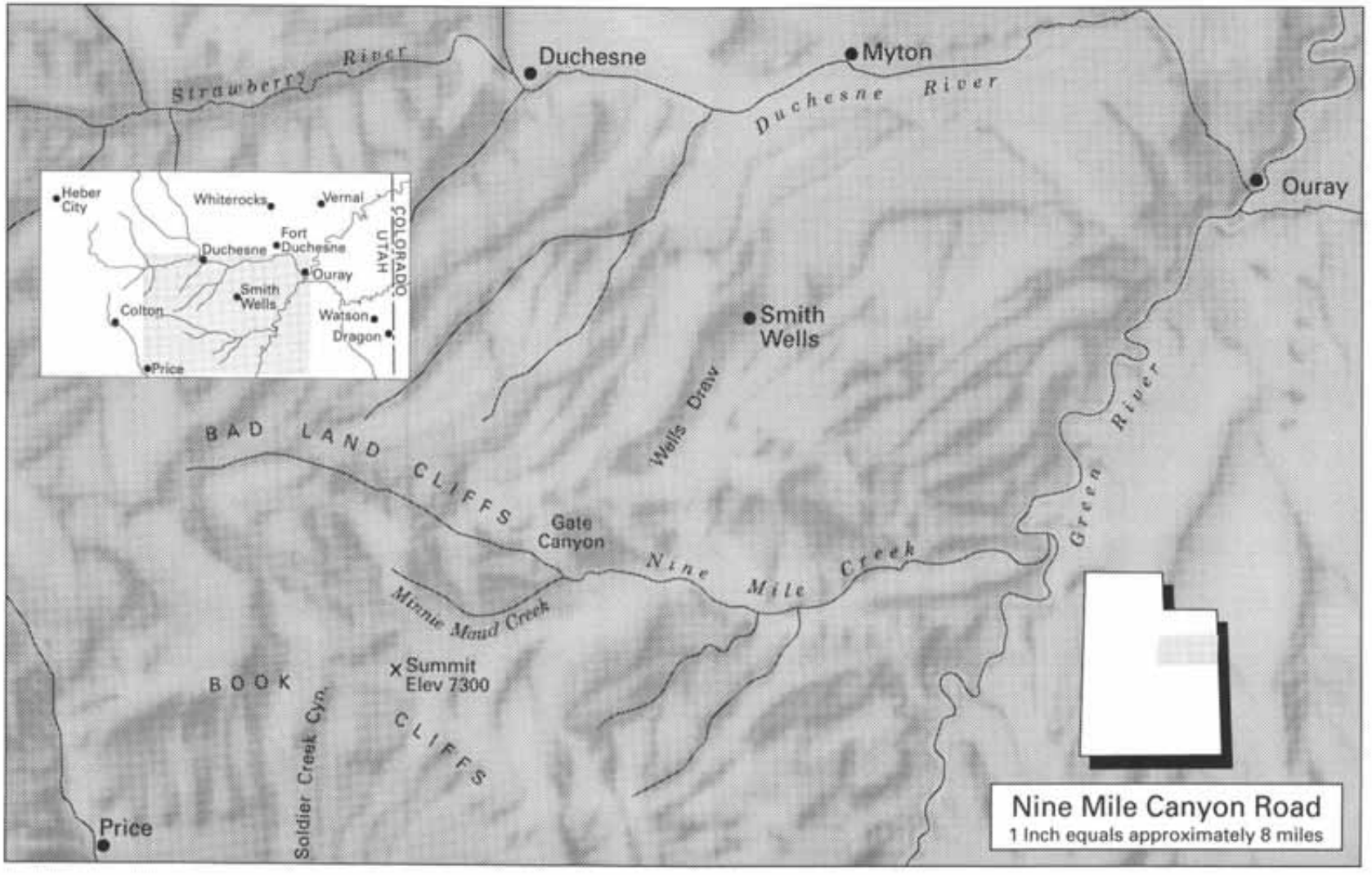
In 1886 the army established Fort Duchesne and sent large contingents of black as well as white soldiers to this outpost. A constant trickle of civilian support personnel complemented the garrison and added ever increasing numbers of white intruders. This presence led to incessant petitioning by whites for the use of Indian-held lands for farming, timber, and mining rights. Various political strategies employed in Washington, D.C., brought about the opening to homesteading of the Uncompahgre Reservation in 1898 and, subsequently, the Uintah Reservation in 1905.[2]

With the demand for land in the Uinta Basin exceeding the supply in 1905, a clamoring of mankind climbed over every hill and explored every canyon, wash, and pore conceivable in the rugged morphology of this vast primordial basin. The stark terrain encountered by early settlers in the area spawned one of the most interesting facets in the colonization of the Basin by whites. Known formally as Smith Wells, Utah, it was sometimes called Cliff Station but, more commonly, the Wells.

With the establishment of Fort Duchesne the army built a "new wagon road"[3] between the garrison and the nearest railhead, Price, Utah. Because the road went through Nine Mile Canyon it was called the Nine Mile Road. It was considered to be an all-season route. Meandering southwest from the garrison, it crossed deep alluvial silt beds and outcroppings of ledge rock as it gradually ascended tilted tertiary beds of the syncline making up the great Uinta Basin. This formidable geography rose to a summit at 7,300 feet, not especially high. But directly ahead lay the craggy Gate Canyon: steep, winding, narrow, prone to floods, matted with bedrock and boulders. That plummeted into Nine Mile Canyon, almost 1,600 feet in seven miles.

[2] Fred A. Conetah, *A History of the Northern Ute People*, ed. Kathryn L. MacKay and Floyd A. O'Neil (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1982), pp. 110–26.

[3] Navy and Old Army Records Branch, Office of the Chief of Engineers (RG 77), Document W 449, "New Wagon Road," map and description received from the Adjutant General's Office, December 31, 1886, National Archives, Washington, D.C.


Strawberry River
Duchesne
Myton
Duchesne River
Ouray
Heber City
Whiterocks
Vernal
Fort Duchesne
Duchesne
Ouray
Smith Wells
Colton
Watson
Dragon
Price
COLORADO
UTAH
Smith Wells
Wells Draw
Green River
BAD LAND CLIFFS
Gate Canyon
Nine Mile Creek
Minnie Maud Creek
Summit Elev 7300
BOOK CLIFFS
Soldier Creek Cyn.
Price
Nine Mile Canyon Road
1 Inch equals approximately 8 miles

And while the road through Nine Mile Canyon and Whitmore Park was easy traveling, it reached an altitude of almost 7,400 feet at the head of Soldier Creek. From there to its mouth Soldier Creek was as treacherous as Gate Canyon, except for one thing: between Fort Duchesne and Nine Mile Canyon, via the Bad Land Cliffs and Gate Canyon, there was almost no water. As one writer noted, "The only drink for man and beast was in barrels the outfits carried. For men on horseback and light rigs, it was not so bad, but for the freighters it was different; too much of the heavy loads had to be barrels of water."[4] A solid thirty-seven miles of this dry and dusty realm had no water at all. Right in the middle of that problematic dry stretch lay Gamma Grass Canyon.

Owen Smith had traveled the Nine Mile Road extensively in its early days and understood the water problems associated with it. He dreamed of finding water in Gamma Grass Canyon, of establishing an oasis in the desert, and of making a potful of money. In 1891, with help from the "witcher of Carbon," Smith located the site for a well. Digging 180 feet into the parched earth,[5] he found his blessed elixir. The water contained salts and minerals that rendered it unpotable for humans, but it remained suitable for animals. With only this mild setback, he moved his family to the area and established Smith Wells, a watering station for all comers. In time Gamma Grass Canyon became known as the Wells Draw, a name that has stuck to this day.

Smith dug his well approximately six feet square and timbered it from top to bottom with cedar trees harvested by axe and brawn in the surrounding hills. The bottom of the well was solid rock, and he created a substantial tank by blasting into this sedimentary layer. Atop the well he positioned a whim, a machine driven by a horse yoked to a long arm extending outward from a center capstan and gear box. Cable is wound around a spool, raising a bucket from the well below. The bucket in this case held more than fifty gallons and worked on a foot valve. At the top of the well a mechanism tripped the valve, and the water flowed freely. Smith caught the water in a holding tank and

[4] George E. Stewart, "The Wells: Welcome Oasis between the Duchesne and the Minnie Maud," *Salt Lake Tribune, Home Magazine*, April 16, 1972.

[5] The original depth of the well is most often reported as 180–185 feet. Jim Hamilton, who leased Smith Wells in 1907, installed a gasoline-driven force pump on the well in 1917. His son, Richard Hamilton, helped install this system and recalls that it required 165 feet of pipe to reach water. It is possible that in the twenty-five-plus years following the digging of the well it became silted in ten feet or more. And given the fact that well pipes are usually held off the bottom some distance to keep from sucking up mud, 180 feet is good as a probable, original depth. Interview with Richard Hamilton, February 17, 1990, Randlett, Utah.

a system of wooden troughs. The air near the well was cool from evaporation off the wet soil and dampness rising from the wellhead. In such a dry locale the only wet smell sweeter was that of thunderstorms rolling through the pinyon pine forest.[6]

Smith had not gone into the badlands thinking that just because he had water to sell the people would come. He had traveled the Nine Mile Road and had seen the number of freighters, travelers, mail carriers, and military and Indian agency personnel plodding along the terrestrial ribbon of dust. Before they could reach any Uinta Basin settlement these travelers had first to cross the mighty Duchesne River, and the Nine Mile Road led to the only bridge crossing that torrential barrier.[7] For that reason almost all commerce and travel went over the Nine Mile Road and right past Smith Wells. Traffic was heavy.[8]

Great stockpiles of freight bound for the Uinta Basin filled the docks at Price that year (1891), enough goods that it would take all winter to deliver them. These shipments included supplies to build and maintain Fort Duchesne and the Indian agencies at Whiterocks and Ouray, Utah. Gilsonite from the St. Louis Mine on the Strip and mines at Watson and Dragon was shipped from the Basin over the Nine Mile Road to the railhead at Price. It is reported that 500,000 pounds of the hydrocarbon, about sixty-five wagon loads, were shipped from that city's docks in mid-January 1891.[9] It had all gone over the Nine Mile Road.

In addition, the army had built a telegraph line in 1886. It and the new road had to be maintained. This continual stream of commerce meant people would be passing by; substantial business and sales were in the offing. The young entrepreneur Owen Smith knew what he was doing. Success was almost guaranteed.

[6] Hamilton interview.

[7] The Duchesne River is nothing compared to what it once was. With the advent of the Central Utah Project and the taking of water from the confines of the Uinta Basin to areas along the Wasatch Front (an average of 57,179 acre feet per year during 1985–91), the Duchesne River at Myton has been reduced to a trickle of its natural flow. Stream flows on the Duchesne River were measured at present-day Myton starting in 1899 and reflect "practically the entire run-off of the Duchesne basin above the mouth of Uinta River." In the first three or four years after the reservation was opened for homesteading in 1905, part of that flow was being diverted; the Basin had undergone "great irrigation development." Despite these diversions along the upper Duchesne River, peak flows at "Price Road Bridge station" (Myton) averaged about 4,407 cubic feet per second between 1899 and 1908 and an approximate average continual flow near 2,200 cubic feet per second. This can be contrasted with a peak reading of 1,600 cubic feet per second in 1991, with the mean flow at only 56.9 cubic feet per second. See U.S. Geological Survey surface water reports for the years 1908–91.

[8] Evelyn Richardson, "Lifeline of the Uintah Basin," *Builders of Uintah* (Springville, Ut.: Art City Publishing Co., 1947), p. 263; and Henry Fiack, "Fort Duchesne's Beginnings," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (1929): 32.

[9] *Eastern Utah Telegraph*, January 15, 22, 1891; *Vernal Express*, December 1907 (holiday edition).

The Smith family built a small frame home close to some nearby cliffs with the road running between them and the adjacent well. Native rock was abundant, and the flat stones were used by Smith and subsequent owners to build almost every other structure at the Wells.

Mrs. Smith cooked daily specials, such as a big pot of chili beans, a kettle of mutton stew, or some other favorite, for weary travelers. That is all she served; like it or leave it. With water and food for sale, and contact with the civilized world in place, more than a modicum of security for travelers resulted. Smith Wells was growing, something that continued for almost twenty-five years.

There was another distinct advantage built into the Wells. Smith's enterprise was not only in the middle of the thirty-seven dry miles, it lay midway between Vernal and Price, Utah. A twice-weekly stage line had been established on the Nine Mile Road as early as 1888 to carry passengers and mail. By 1889 this had been upgraded to daily service.

It took twelve hours for the stage from Price and the one from Vernal to meet at a turn-around site in Gamma Grass Canyon. No buildings greeted them upon their arrival. The stage company had hay and water hauled there for the stage horses and wood for its patrons' warming fires. While horses ate and rested a midnight snack was served, passengers and mail were exchanged, and each stage returned to its beginning point.[10]

In 1891 the stage line negotiated with the newly established Smith Wells for services, including overnight accommodations. Part of the service given in return was a daily divvy of potable water brought in on the stage from both the Bridge (present-day Myton) and from Minnie Maud Creek in Nine Mile Canyon.[11] Smith Wells quickly became a refuge for all travelers of the Nine Mile Road.

One story handed down says that Owen Smith became known as "Owing" Smith because he had never paid the witcher. To settle the accusation once and for all Smith framed the receipt he had received upon payment to the water witch and hung it where all could see. Below the framed voucher hung a singletree hitch. One account noted that "If somebody said 'Owing Smith', he would point to it and say: 'I'm *Owen* Smith alright [*sic*], but be damned if I'm *owing* anybody. Now, how would you like me to prove it to you? With this receipt

[10] Post Returns, Fort Duchesne, Utah, August 1888, July 1889, film UA 26 A55, reel 333, "Ft. Duchesne, UT: 1886–1903," Regional History Room, Uintah County Library, Vernal, Utah; Hamilton interview; and interview with George E. Stewart, February 15, 1990.

[11] *Vernal Express*, October 27, 1948; Stewart interview.

or with fist or gun or with that there singletree?' Naturally, the story ended, except as a humorous yarn, told around the campfires."[12]

Smith diversified his holdings. He opened a general store and post office and added feed for animals to go along with the water dispensed from the well. One of the most legendary buildings at the Wells during the Smith era was a little log cabin Owen built to house female employees. In that cabin a man's gangrenous arm was amputated without anesthetic by an army surgeon. After that the cabin was affectionately called "the hospital."[13]

Near the turn of the century Owen Smith sold the Wells to I. W. "Ike" Odekirk and opened a store at Myton.

Business remained good at Smith Wells. Mining interests had continued to expand, with more mines opening nearer the Wells. Talk of opening the reservation to homesteading increased the number of visits to the area by prominent persons in and out of government. The stage line was busy.

Odekirk enlarged the frame house included in the purchase of the Wells, adding two rooms onto each side of the original frame dwelling. Each room had doors exiting to the front office and dining hall, respectively, as well as outdoors. These four rooms provided more sleeping quarters and established a more hotel-type atmosphere.

By this time someone had built a camp house at the Wells to accommodate freighters. It was a rustic, single-room, rock-walled edifice, dug partially into the hill, with a crude fireplace in one end and a dirt roof. Freighters could throw out their bedrolls and sleep there at no cost.[14]

All this increased activity brought with it fresh experiences, new faces, and many stories. One could see or hear almost anything at Smith Wells—and life was not dull, especially after the Ute Indian Reservation was opened for white settlement in 1905. Many things changed then.

The Bridge was laid out as a townsite and named after Maj. H. P. Myton of Fort Duchesne. With the prospect of business in a booming new town, Ike Odekirk sold the Wells and opened a general store and

[12] Stewart, "The Wells."

[13] Both the Stewart and Hamilton interviews substantiate calling this building the hospital. Hamilton explained that as he grew up the cabin was used to quarantine patients during epidemics.

[14] Stewart and Hamilton interviews.

This mail station on the Duchesne River was called the Bridge and later became Myton. Persons identified in this photograph are Isaac W. Odekirk, Hannah Odekirk holding infant Preston Odekirk, and Harry Clark. USHS collections.

feed and grain business in the newly established city of Myton.[15] The partnership of Leb Ballenger, George Y. Wallace, and Tobe Whitmore bought the Wells and leased the whole operation to Jim Hamilton in 1907. By then the reservation was inundated with homesteaders, and Smith Wells was in its heyday.

It was said that one could not travel the old freight road more than a quarter of a mile without passing someone, either coming or going. Fifteen thousand immigrants streamed into the Basin to settle the land, and they brought with them increased needs for products and staple commodities. Freighting became the employment of teamsters and farmers alike. Merchants welcomed this service and rotated through all interested teamsters.[16]

The deep silt beds leveling the Wells Draw became one large braided river of powder with as many as eight wagon paths across its breadth; the wagon wheels sank their iron rims deep into the muscle of the earth. As one man described it, "Ya no sooner got inta one rut than ya wished ta hell ya was in another."[17]

From atop a high hill near the head of Wells Draw one could

[15] *The Ouderkerk Family Genealogy*, vol. 2, ed H. John and Raymond Ouderkirk (Charlotte, N.C.: Delmar Publishers and Printers, 1990), p. 99. The family name has a number of variant spellings, including the two in this note and that used by persons named in the text. All are correct.

[16] Arthur E. Gibson, "Industries, Other Than Coal, Which Were Important in the Development of Carbon County," in *Centennial Echoes of Carbon County*, comp. Thursey Jessen Reynolds et al. (Price: Carbon County Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1948), p. 45.

[17] Hamilton interview.

trace the immigrant road all the way to Vernal by the dust trails streaming skyward and pray to heaven there was a breeze. As many as fifty rigs would stop for the night at the Wells. With two hundred head of horses to feed and water in an evening and hobble for the night, there was always commotion. Manure near the campsite was piled so deep by spring that early automobiles, trying to enter during the thaw, were mired to the floorboards.

Everyone seemed to be in a great hurry. Hard-worked animals would sweat until their coats were sopping wet, and the dust stuck to them in great droplets of mud.[18] Those teams arriving at the Wells from the Minnie Maud in Nine Mile Canyon had flexed their entire beings to the limit in pulling up Gate Canyon, negotiating Slick Rock, and clawing their way over Singletree Hill, work so difficult it often required doubling up teams. They became deathly tired, and peril stalked them in various forms.

Wallace Hyrum Dennis, the writer's grandfather, worked part-time at the Wells as a boy. He told of one such hazard: A drummer (salesman) had pushed his team terribly fast. They were extremely hot and covered with froth. The lad warned the salesman not to water his horses until they were cooled out. The man disregarded his warnings and hurried to water his animals, explaining that he had important sales and business to conduct further on. He lost all four horses—dead from colic.[19] Young as he was, Dennis knew better. He cared for the overheated, hard-worked stage horses as they pulled into the stop and were changed out for rest and recuperation.

It is hard to know now just how much water was actually dispensed from the well over the years, but from the beginning, there *was* a charge for the water. Prices changed over the years in keeping with the economy, but some prices around 1910 were: $1.50 per team, 25 cents per head for cattle or horses, and about a penny for each head of sheep; in later years it cost 10 cents to fill the radiator of a car. Jim Hamilton, a dog lover, wrote at the bottom of the price list: "Dogs

[18] Ibid.

[19] Colic in horses is caused by several conditions, including obstruction or twisting of, or spasms in, a hollow organ. Symptoms are marked by sudden, recurring, convulsive attacks causing shortness of wind (breath), thus adding to the stress on the animal. In the most severe cases shock sets in and the animal dies. The account noted in this study was most probably brought on by the drinking of a quantity of cold water on an empty stomach while in a heated condition. This would have been a horrible sight to witness as four otherwise healthy and beautiful horses would have whinnied in pleading tones, snorted, heaved, kicked, and rolled and writhed with pain until stress crushed their ability to withstand and they succumbed. The owner's actions would be recorded as totally unconscionable. (Telephone conversation with Dr. Blaine Whiting, DVM, Basin Veterinary Clinic, Roosevelt, Utah).

Drink Free." Large herds of sheep and cattle grazed in the area in those days, and as many as 500 head of cattle were known to water there at one time quite easily. Not all who passed the Wells partook of its bounty. Prices were too high for some, given individual circumstances, and they would circumvent the Wells by taking stock upwind and around.[20]

During this boom time patronage at Smith Wells was so heavy that the Hamiltons hauled in potable water in quantity from the Duchesne River. In addition to the main house and hotel, the store, the little log "hospital," and the camp house, there was a hay house, a smoke house, an ice house, a forge, a chicken coop, an assortment of barns to house the stage horses, and two outhouses: men's and ladies'. Across the draw from the complex, in the mouth of Duke's Canyon (named after a favorite horse of the Hamiltons who died and was taken there to repose in peace) was a sheep-shearing corral and dipping vat. The Wells was a virtual beehive of activity.

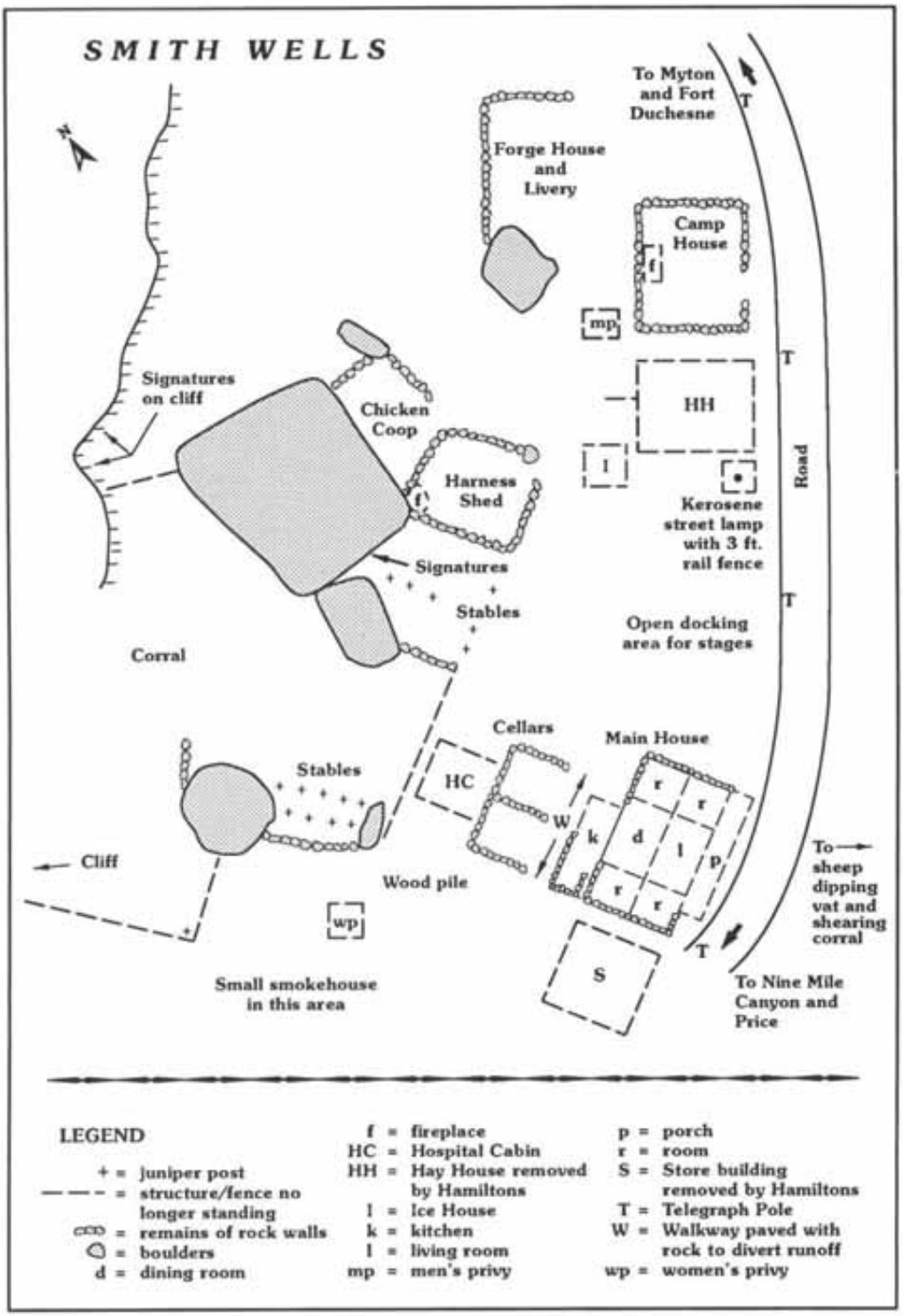
As always, the summer months were the most active and the hottest; but no one noticed the heat—they were too busy. For a kid at play it was a spree to run and hide and hunt and chase in the cedar-trimmed hills around the well. The hotel kitchen was not immune to childhood antics, and an occasional "cow pie" down the chimney would send everyone scurrying for air. The store was always open to attack from nimble fingers sniffing out sugar candies and other delights. But all was not play.

Hamilton hired a schoolteacher to tutor the children of Smith Wells, with classes held in the hospital cabin. These children had chores to do, sure; during winter months they had to have the old blue ribbon saw singing its song by 2 p.m. or they would be stacking firewood into the cold of night. But chores were all part of childhood, and when residents of the Wells went to a well-earned rest at night they embraced slumber to the calls of coyotes in the distance.[21]

Mrs. Hamilton was providing short-order meal service by this time and employed the help of her daughters and a number of others in addition. The dining room contained one very large, long table encircled by chairs. The sheer numbers of hired help could almost fill it when their turn to eat came. Aromas from Mrs. Hamilton's home-style cooking wafted potently through the air, mixed only with the

[20] Hamilton and Stewart interviews; interview with Maxine Burdick, February 20, 1990, Duchesne, Utah.

[21] Hamilton interview.



This map of the Smith Wells site drawn by Cherie Hale is based on a field map made by Dorothy Sammons-Lohse in April 1981 with additional historical data supplied by H. Bert Jenson. The map is not to scale. When Smith Wells was in use the road was some 50 feet from the house.

scent of pinyon pine smoke curling up from the stove pipe chimney at the rear of the house. These luring smells beckoned to hungry passersby.

Besides meals, many people wanted just to buy bread. The Wells could not keep bread in stock. Homemade, it went out in loaves and in sandwiches for the road—along with a river of freshly brewed Arbuckle's coffee. Pies, cinnamon rolls, and other pastries were favorites as well but for the most part reserved as desserts with meals sold inside.

This culinary symphony required some well designed preparation areas. Cellars holding potatoes, carrots, and other perishables lay close at hand, and a large army cook stove graced the kitchen and maintained a thirty-gallon tank of warm water. Someone fashioned a sink, built entirely from wood, and carved largely by pocketknife. It came complete with corrugated drain board, was very convenient, and much used.[22]

Smith Wells seemed very much a living entity—its people its heartbeat. Besides the local notables, like the wild-horseman Tex Brown who kept his money tucked behind armlets but in plain view and ol' Empty Sleeve, the one armed sheepherder,[23] other, more distinguished persons played out scenarios there too:

> Emma Lucy Gates sang one night after supper dishes were cleared away. Tommy Birchell, the cowboy baritone; Charlie Stewart, the whistling sheepherder; Ralph Cloninger, the Salt Lake player, all went through their paces by lamplight for the assembled residents and wayfarers and it was all for free. Almost every night, there was some sort of entertainment. Senator Reed Smoot, Governor William Spry, Congressman Don B. Colton and other high government officials slumbered in the rock-walled rooms adjoining the dining room.[24]

Another source of enjoyment for residents of the Wells were the decked-out freight rigs. These brightly painted wagons, their scrolled lettering set off by pinstripes, provided visual fascination. Color-coordinated tassels hung from horses tails and center rings; others tossed about from atop the hems (hames). Some early denizens of the freight road attached bells to harnesses that, with the rhythmic cadence of the horses' steps, created a cheerful musical sound. The teamsters, who had traveled to interesting places and met many people, told

[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Stewart, "The Wells."

captivating stories of their sojourns. Despite their wide-ranging experiences, they were as glad to see the Wells as that community was to see them.

It took seven days to make a round trip over the Nine Mile Road. The early freighters were accustomed to sleeping under their wagons, under the stars, wherever night overtook them. The gait of their horses determined how far they could go in a day, and normal speeds led to the formation of regular stopover camps. Understandably, one of these favorite stops was Smith Wells. So eager were these weary teamsters to reach the Wells that they would sometimes extend their day greatly—pulling in at midnight.

Luckily, Smith Wells boasted a street light, a very large lantern that was refueled daily. It sat upon a pole and had a bonnet, so it cast its light down and out, illuminating the grounds on dark nights. By its light many a freighter and stage passenger found the way to warm quarters. The camp house quite often overflowed, and in the coldest weather some freighters took shelter in the straw-bedded barns housing the stage horses.

The freighters enjoyed the services provided at the Wells. For one thing, because of their numbers, there was not enough natural feed to take care of all the animals along the Nine Mile Road. Teamsters were forced to haul several bales of hay to feed their teams along the way. Like the barrels of water hauled in the days before Smith dug the well, hay was heavy. One service furnished by the Wells lessened this burden. For ten cents a bale freighters could store part of their hay in the hay house, saving weight on their wagons until the return trip.

Teamsters usually carried a small quantity of oats to feed their horses along the road, and it was common practice to cradle eggs in the grain to keep them from breaking. The men cooked the eggs for meals farther down the road. The demand for fresh eggs kept the Wells in short supply.

Whatever inconsistency night may have brought these teamsters, morning was relentlessly regular. The Wells awoke early, *every* day![25] Before the sun came up, before the eastern sky was even light, sojourners at the Wells could hear the sound of quiet voices speaking to rested horses and the muffled slap of leather as yokes and tugs were fastened to chains that punctuated the stillness with their jingle.

[25] Hamilton and Stewart interviews.

Freighters who had concluded their business the night before were bidding farewell to everyone as the rooster stretched his neck to bid welcome to the morning's first rays. The only thing moving faster than morning activities at the Wells was progress itself. Welcome or not, some changes were inevitable.

The telegraph had been replaced with a telephone exchange in 1907. As a subscriber to the new service the Wells was on a party line, with the ring at the Wells being eight long tones! At a time when a young man was paid $1.00 a day for labor and rooms cost 50 cents, meals 35 cents, and blue jeans only 90 cents, a local telephone call might cost between 30 and 80 cents and a typical call to Heber City, the county seat in those days, a whopping $3.00 or more![26] Like the telephone, other new technology was changing the face of commerce all over western America. Despite the boom Owen Smith's oasis dream had enjoyed for over twenty years, the Wells was becoming more of a mirage with each passing day.

As early as 1905 there had been a sudden drop in commerce along the Nine Mile Road. The Uintah Railway from Mack, Colorado, into the Dragon and Watson mines in lower Uintah County took over the ore shipments that formerly came past the Wells en route to Price. In the beginning the changes in traffic were subtle and almost imperceptible. For one thing, there was such a trampling surge of humankind trumpeting the opening of the reservation to white settlement that same year that no one noticed much of a change. Besides, Gilsonite shipments from the St. Louis Mine and the newly reopened Pariette Mine actually increased (as many as five railway carloads per month were shipped from the Pariette alone).[27] Although the full impact of the Uintah Railway would not be felt for several years, commerce along the Nine Mile route was becoming more attenuated with each passing day.

Gradually, freight shipments past the Wells dropped noticeably. Many commodities bound for Vernal went to Dragon on the train and were then freighted by wagon to merchants in Ashley Valley. Even government entities used the new means of conveyance part of the time, which further diminished the viability of the Wells.

Then, in 1912 the army abandoned Fort Duchesne, and several lucrative freight contracts fell empty. A stage line between the railhead

[26] *Builders of Uintah*, p. 314; Hamilton interview and ledgers from the general store at the Wells and kept by Hamilton.

[27] Gibson, "Industries, Other Than Coal"; *Vernal Express*, March 24, 1906, p.3.

at Dragon and Vernal competed with the Nine Mile route for passengers, weakening another support structure of the Wells. By 1915 an improved road had been built from Theodore (Duchesne), Utah, to the railroad at Colton, via Indian Canyon and Willow Creek. Some teamsters used this new road, further diminishing travel through Wells Draw and Nine Mile Canyon. Finally, the Strawberry road southeast of Heber City was being continually improved. It was no longer necessary for travelers from Salt Lake City or the Wasatch Front to go through Price to get to the Basin. This further reduced commerce along the Nine Mile Road. The Wells slowly became more of a service point for herders than travelers. The boom days were gone.

The Hamiltons had relinquished management of the Wells in 1911. They returned in 1917, but in the early spring of 1922 Jim Hamilton left Smith Wells for the last time. The only truly free spirits to leave were the forty head of horses he turned loose to find companionship among the diminishing wild horse herds. Although several others struggled to keep the well in operation after Hamilton's departure, Smith Wells, the legend, would never rise again.

Once it was abandoned, scavengers in search of wood and plunder removed much of its physical essence, and a careless match swept the rest away in a ghostly inferno; the rock walls tumbled. Within a few years a flash flood filled the well itself with mud and debris.[28] Today, all that is left of Smith Wells are a few deteriorating rock walls, indentations of cellars irreclaimable, and stubby cedar posts—remnants of the stage horse barns—oh yes, and a few names high on the ledge rocks where residents left their mark on nature.

Yet, the quintessence of Smith Wells lives on. This stagecoach inn was more than just a group of buildings in the middle of Utah's badlands. It was a vital link in the preservation and forward movement of man and beast in the early history of the Uinta Basin, a resting place for travelers who otherwise would have suffered thirst, hunger, and weariness before reaching their destinations. In the words of one historian, "Its history . . . has all the flavor of the early western scene. Soldiers, cowboys, outlaws, Indians, homesteaders; the great, the near great and just plain people, all were here, played their brief roles, stepped off the stage and into legend."[29]

[28] Hamilton and Stewart interviews; taped recollections of the writer's grandparents, Wallace and Gladys Dennis, in his possession.

[29] Stewart, "The Wells."

Historic inscription on boulder at Smith Wells: "Stephen Hamilton, Au. 16, 1916." Historic preservation office photograph taken April 13, 1981.

Ask anyone with roots in the Uinta Basin and invariably that person's family history will contain a yarn about the Wells: how Mom and Dad met there and fell in love; how frozen fingers were saved in that wonderful kitchen; or how children's laughter resonated from the cliffs of Wells Draw when Grandad took the whole family on that great wagon trip to see the Utah State Fair. At the very least, Smith Wells is a great legacy in the history of eastern Utah and especially of the Uinta Basin, a beacon in the window of an untamed land, a refuge where water was king.

Frontiersman: Abner Blackburn's Narrative. Edited by WILL BAGLEY. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992. xxxii + 309 pp. $27.50.)

Responding to a request from Spencer Clawson, an organizer of the Utah 1847 Pioneer Jubilee Committee, for artifacts pertaining to the initial entry of the Saints into the valley of the Great Salt Lake, Abner Blackburn, a seventy-year-old apostate Mormon pioneer, frontiersman, and Indian fighter, then residing in San Bernardino, California, respectfully sent his old pistol, a portrait of himself, and the following note: "I have [written] the biography of my adventures from 1843 to 1851 containing about thirty thousand words. I am awaiting to find some suitable scholler [*sic*] to assist me with the prepareing [*sic*] it in shape." Unfortunately for history Blackburn was to die in 1904 without having found the scholar he was seeking; consequently, his account went unnoticed for almost thirty years.

What followed should serve as a valuable lesson for archivists, librarians, historians, and lovers of history regarding the vulnerability of historical resources. The discovery of the manuscript (a story in itself, ably told by the editor) initiated a series of convoluted events, almost as interesting as they are bizarre, that immediately placed literary restrictions—some real, some imagined—on Blackburn's memoirs, effectively preventing its publication for the next fifty years. Meanwhile, during the intervening period, the historical community caught only glimpses of those events witnessed by Blackburn, initially in Dale L. Morgan's *The Humboldt, Highroad of the West* (1943) and later periodically in a series of poorly edited articles published in the *Pony Express* (1948–66). Aroused by the fragments they read, later researchers began to make greater use of the restricted manuscript.

Now almost a century has passed since Blackburn wrote Clawson conveying his hope that "some suitable scholler" would be found to assist him with his biography. Fortunately that scholar has been found, and with the publication of Blackburn's amazingly accurate reminiscences the historical community will be greatly enriched by his eyewitness accounts of some of the more interesting events in the history of the LDS church and the settlement of the West.

Written in a narrative voice that is both dry and humorous (he was a master of the understatement) Blackburn's account of his life traverses the continent and encompasses so many events that summarization is no easy task. However, during the eight-year period covered by his manuscript he steamboated on the Upper Missouri for the American Fur Company, served in the Nauvoo Legion, worked on the temple, participated in the winter evacuation of Nauvoo, drove

Brigham Young's family wagon across Iowa, served in the Mormon Battalion, wintered over in Pueblo, entered Salt Lake Valley with the pioneers, accompanied Samuel Brannan to California—returning by way of the Hastings Cutoff—went to the gold fields early in 1849, fought Indians on numerous occasions, crossed the Great Basin seven times, apostatized from the church, and finally settled in San Bernardino where, except for an interlude at sea, he remained for the balance of his life.

Blackburn was neither a zealot nor an embittered apostate. His observations of historic events during those turbulent times in the life of the Mormon church present us with a reasonably well balanced perspective from which we may view the past. For some readers his descriptions of certain events will challenge conventionally held historical dogmas.

Richly supplied with editorial emendations and more than adequate documentation, *Frontiersman* is the product of careful research and excellent writing. The editor deserves commendation if for no other reason than the fact that he allows Blackburn to speak for himself, restricting his commentary to well-prepared introductory remarks at the beginning of each chapter. Complete with simple line maps, contemporary photographs, a superbly annotated bibliography, and an exceptionally thorough index, this work merits the attention of the historical community.

TODD I. BERENS
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Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War. By DONALD R. MOORMAN with GENE A. SESSIONS. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992. xvi + 332 pp. $29.95.)

After eighteen years of research, analysis, and writing, by 1980 Donald R. Moorman had nearly completed a manuscript on the LDS church, the army, the overland trail to California, and the Indians of the Great Basin before the Civil War. Before he could see the work to its publication, however, Moorman died. Jerome Bernstein and Gene A. Sessions, two of his former colleagues in the Department of History at Weber State College, pieced together the manuscript and a decade later were on the verge of submitting the work to a publisher when Bernstein also died. Sessions carried through with the task; the resulting product, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War,* is a testimony not only to Moorman's work but also to the friendship and loyalty of academic colleagues.

In Moorman's view the army's occupation of Utah during the late 1850s "changed forever the course and nature of the Mormon experience" (p. 271). Brigham Young's goal of Mormon economic self-sufficiency became impracticable as the crisis reaffirmed Utah's dependency on external markets. Further, the influences of the non-Mormon world could not be eliminated, claimed Moorman, as demonstrated in the tumultuous life at Camp Floyd, Fairfield, and Salt Lake City. Ironically, the presence of the military, though challenged by most Mormons, also enabled the church leaders to expand their colonies in northeastern Utah under the army's protective screen against the Indians.

Moorman is most effective when discussing the tangled relationships

among federal and church officials. The conflicting interests and motivations of Judge John C. Cradlebaugh, Gov. Alfred Cumming, Indian superintendent Jacob Forney, Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, and Brigham Young receive even-handed treatment. The confusion among federal officials, Moorman concludes, was reinforced by misleading and contradictory instructions from the Buchanan administration, which hoped to make Utah "a testing ground to reassert federal control over a region claiming nominal independence from the Union" (p. 17). The Mountain Meadows Massacre is viewed within the context of the Mormon Reformation of 1856, the tensions of army occupation, the inadequacy of federal courts, and the religious bigotry of the period. Usually generous to Brigham Young, Moorman absolves the latter from immediate responsibility for the Mountain Meadows affair but demonstrates that Young tried to cover up the tragedy by blaming it on Indians.

By its very nature the posthumous publication of Moorman's work meant that there would be certain shortcomings, which this reviewer feels obligated to point out to prospective readers. Thematic rather than chronological in approach, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons* sometimes lacks thorough scholarly analysis, and the flamboyant prose is somewhat exaggerated. The footnotes seem incomplete, and there is no bibliography. Perhaps most serious, discussions of Indian policy and the transfer of many units from Utah in 1860 fail to take into account contemporary national issues.

In organizing and editing the final version of this manuscript, Sessions avoided the temptation to change materially or to update Moorman's research, style, or conclusions. Although now somewhat dated and lacking in the polish only Moorman could have given it, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons* nevertheless combines LDS church archival materials with more generally available sources to weave an important and interesting tale. Specialists and general readers in Mormon, Utah, military, and western history will find it a valuable contribution.

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Peddlers and Post Traders: The Army Sutler on the Frontier. By DAVID MICHAEL DELO. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992. x + 274 pp. $29.95.)

Long before the army sutler was called "a necessary evil" in the Civil War, critics had stereotyped him as a "blatantly unethical villain." In this well-researched volume, David Michael Delo traces the evolution of this profession from camp follower to post trader, finding "men who served with dignity and integrity . . . who deserve greater recognition for their contributions to America's heritage." Despite some sutlers' selling whiskey illegally to soldiers and Indians, profiteering, disobeying regulations, and engaging in "political mischief," Delo maintains that the majority were "clean, hardworking men" who assumed great risks in bringing essential services and conveniences to frontier soldiers. The author uses pictures and profiles to bring "the more interesting and notorious" sutlers to life.

Delo finds that American sutling passed through "definable" stages: camp follower (prior to 1821), army post sutler (1821–60), Civil War sutler (1861–66), and military post trader (1867–93). Distinct criteria, including the trader's background, how and by what authority he received his appointment, the nature of contemporary military regulations, and the disposition and missions of the army, characterized each stage. U.S. government policy and army regulations determined the sutler's boundaries. His profit margin depended upon "historical circumstances" and the current state of the economy. Over the years sutling "became better established and more profitable."

Like his European ancestor, the eighteenth-century American sutler was a camp follower who sold goods and supplemental food to soldiers during time of war. Military officials regulated the sutler's behavior, hours of operation, and prices, rendering him dependent upon the commander's mood. When the United States established permanent frontier military posts after the Revolution, post commanders began choosing one sutler to be their official trader.

In 1821–22 the War Department recognized the sutler's contribution to the soldier's welfare by establishing and officially regulating the position of regular army post sutler, who quickly became a political appointee. The majority of sutlers between 1820 and 1840 failed financially and chose not to renew their licenses, but those of the 1840s and 1850s were "frontier entrepreneurs" who often profited handsomely through land speculation, freighting, lumbering, Indian trade, and other business ventures.

Often a greedy self-centered hustler, the Civil War sutler serving volunteer units "damaged the morale of the soldiers with whiskey, high prices, and shoddy quality." As a result, the army abolished the position of sutler in 1866 but found no better alternative. Reborn as the military post trader in 1867, the post-Civil War sutler pocketed the greatest profits and performed the most auxiliary functions: banker, creditor, entrepreneur, host, intermediary, merchant, postmaster, and local politician. Until replaced by the canteen as urbanization closed in, the post trader provided desirable foods, goods, and services for emigrants, soldiers, and travelers, and in general played a key role in the economic development of the American West.

Although Delo compiles a wealth of material in this succinct, well-written book, occasional historical errors and a multitude of typographical errors distract the reader. Nevertheless, *Peddlers and Post Traders* should prove useful and informative for both the general reader and the specialist.

MICHELE BUTTS
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The Custer Reader. Edited by PAUL ANDREW HUTTON. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992. xiv + 585 pp. $40.00.)

So long as we seek to understand the power of legend and folklore in American history, we will always have to deal with an enigmatic cavalryman named George Armstrong Custer. We have watched him die countless times

in darkened movie theaters and on late-night television; yet, he miraculously returns like a specter haunting our national conscience. Thousands of pages have been written in an attempt to separate the man from the myth and provide an understanding of both.

Few books come as close to this goal as Paul Andrew Hutton's edited volume, *The Custer Reader*. This long overdue anthology judiciously blends classic articles from past publications with insightful new essays penned by leading Custer scholars to provide the reader with a balanced primer of the "boy general."

Editor Hutton has thoughtfully divided the book into four sections that trace Custer's career from the Civil War to the Little Big Horn and beyond. The end result is a work that helps us to understand how and why this soldier has cut such a compelling swath across history. Each of these four major sections contains a cogent introduction by the editor and is complemented by a photographic essay at the end.

The first section deals with Custer's meteoric rise to prominence during the Civil War. Gregory J. W. Urwin, who has studied Custer's early career extensively, contributes a lively essay that evaluates the cavalry leader's abilities. In his final assessment Urwin concludes, "Whatever errors he later committed as an Indian fighter, George Armstrong Custer shone in the conventional set-piece battles that decided the Civil War in the eastern theater. As a cavalryman, he rated second only to Sheridan."

The reader then follows Custer to the West where he encounters a completely different foe, the Plains Indians. In another original essay, Brian W. Dippie traces those encounters where "lessons were always easier to come by than to learn." Also in this section, Hutton reprints several rare but classic articles, including Lt. Edward S. Godfrey's reminiscences of the Washita fight and Custer's own account of a skirmish with the Sioux on the Yellowstone in 1873.

When the reader arrives at the Little Big Horn, editor Hutton allows "the dean of frontier military studies," Robert M. Utley, to tell the tale. Utley provides a sound treatment of the 1876 campaign where he is mildly critical of Custer's actions—a tone that is somewhat lacking in his previous work on the battle. Readers may be a bit disappointed in the fact that this renowned Custer scholar only briefly enters the realm of speculation in an effort to reconstruct those final moments on Custer Hill. Nonetheless, this noted Custer scholar once again demonstrates his vast knowledge of this violent period.

One of the most engaging and delightful articles in the book appears in the final section dealing with Custer's image throughout the years. This essay, written by artist Eric Von Schmidt, details his personal odyssey in portraying on canvas those last ghastly moments at the Little Big Horn.

Hutton himself contributes two previously published articles that will further serve as the standard for anyone interested in probing Custer's image in motion pictures and popular culture.

In all, *The Custer Reader* is a delightful reference work for the novice and scholar, providing both introduction and insight.

DAVID DIXON
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Prophesying upon the Bones: J. Reuben Clark and the Foreign Debt Crisis, 1933–39. By GENE A. SESSIONS. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xvi + 149 pp. $24.95.)

Financial crises erupt with remarkable regularity in history, suggesting that we learn or remember very little from experience. The most remarkable thing about these crises is the consistency with which foreigners repudiate their debts, for whatever reasons. Since there is no enforceable body of law governing relationships between borrower and lender across national frontiers, a foreign loan is more often than not a crisis just waiting to happen.

Despite huge foreign loan losses by Europeans during World War I, American investors were eager to loan to foreigners during the roaring twenties. Indeed, by 1929 American families and businesses had loaned nearly one-third of all international bonds on the market. Extravagant hopes fueled many of these loans, encouraged by 7 percent annual returns. Few loans were wisely invested in the host countries, and by 1935 85 percent of all U.S. bonds in Latin America were in default. The plight of the foreign bondholders was very much like that of people who bought over-valued stocks just prior to the stock market crash in 1929.

The U.S. government tried to help solve the problem of unpaid bondholders by establishing a quasi-private Foreign Bondholders Protective Council (FBPC) as had been done with good effect in Britain. J. Reuben Clark became head of this organization, even though he had no experience in bonds or international finance. He did have extensive foreign service experience; moreover, he was honest and an able negotiator. Clark's open hostility to the New Deal diminished his effectiveness at home, but even more important in the long run was the coming of World War II, which put an end to any hope of recovering the bondholders' investment.

Professor Sessions sees Clark as a "prophet" of the old order, an isolationist, and a man much given to "thundering" against defaulters. Although this approach makes the "dry bones" of international finance perhaps more graphic, in my opinion it is overdone. The old order Clark was supposedly representing did not in fact exist as described here, hidebound and ideologically pure. The late twenties and early thirties were an era in transition, neither old nor new. Like Hoover, Clark was not an ideologue; but unlike Hoover, Clark did mix politics and religion to an extraordinary degree.

I thought the most interesting part of this book was the political description of how the directors of the FBPC interacted with elected officials; the least satisfying parts were those relating to economic analysis. The book is brief, clearly written, reasonably well researched, and certainly timely. Unfortunately, each generation seems to learn very little from the experience of the past, particularly in the realm of finance. The lesson of Sessions's work for us today is that it is not a good idea to invest in foreign bonds, even at high rates of interest, when those bonds are being used for consumption rather than investment. This lesson seems to have been lost on the major American banks in the 1980s.

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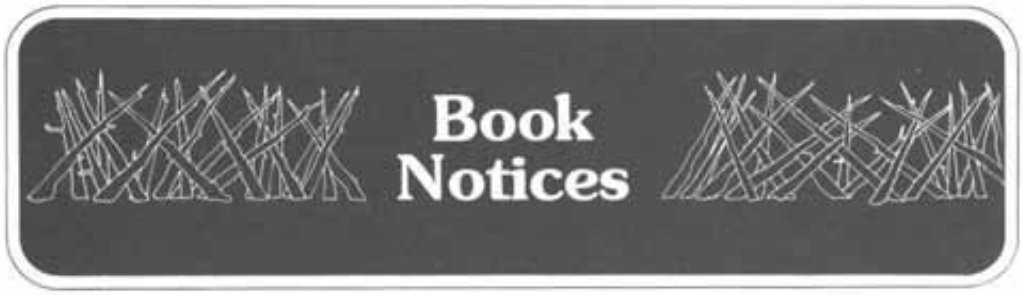

The Children Sang: The Life and Music of Evan Stephens with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. By RAY L. BERGMAN. (Salt Lake City: Northwest Publishing Inc., 1992. xiii + 289 pp. Paper, $9.95.)

Welsh-born Evan Stephens (1854–1930) was arguably the most influential Utah musician during most of his lifetime as a conductor of numerous choirs, a composer, and a teacher. In addition to presenting his life, the book also provides an inside view of the development of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir—how it was transformed from an ordinary, though large, church choir into a widely recognized institution adhering to professional standards of musicianship.

Bergman has researched and pieced together a fascinating biography of a central figure in the state's musical culture. Included in the volume are twelve letters of Stephens to his friend Samuel Bailey Mitton.

The Jicarilla Apache Tribe: A History. By VERONICA E. TILLER. (1983; revised ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992. x + 289 pp. Paper, $12.95.)

Today the Jicarilla Apaches call northern New Mexico home, having given up a large aboriginal territory in parts of New Mexico and Colorado. Ethnically related to the Navajo but often allied with the Utes, the Jicarilla Apaches, starting in the 1840s, watched their land base for hunting and gathering shrink. Their history reads like that of many other tribes of this era—crooked agents, insensitive government, destructive diseases, land losses, mandatory schooling, and cultural annihilation. This is where many such stories end. Tiller continues, however, and carries this tribal saga beyond the positive effects of the Indian Reorganization Act of the 1930s into the 1970s. And in the revised edition, another ten years of history is added, making this a very complete work on a single tribe. A far more positive picture, colored by self-determination, ends this story and illustrates the perseverance characteristic of this tribe

The text is well documented and stands as the single best study of the Jicarilla Apaches. Though not written in a lively style, it is recommended for the serious scholar of Native American history and government relations.

The Seven Visions of Bull Lodge as Told by His Daughter, Garter Snake. Gathered by FRED P. GONE. Edited by GEORGE HORSE CAPTURE. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992. 125 pp. Paper, $8.95.)

This book records the spiritual life of Bull Lodge (ca. 1802–86), a religious leader and healer of the Gros Ventre, and offers unique insights into a vanished way of life.

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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